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US Restates Censure Of Arab Boycott

The U.S. Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Douglas Dillon, yesterday asserted American shipping companies that the U.S. "neither recognizes nor condones the Arab boycott" and will give "vigorous support" to the principle of freedom of the seas.

Mr. Dillon made the pledge in answer to a telegram from the President of the American Maritime Union, Mr. Ralph C. Dill, stating that the American maritime industry was being hurt by the recent action of American ships in the U.S. Arab shipping boycott.

Mr. Dillon said the United States was determined to be firm in its position, and that it would not be swayed by the demands of the Arab boycott.

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Day: No Accord on Astypalea

UNITED NATIONS (Reuters). — Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the U.N. Secretary-General, said yesterday there had never been any agreement or understanding with the U.A.R. which would permit Israel cargo to pass through the Suez Canal.

Mr. Hammarskjöld said that the U.A.R. had never been in a position to agree to any such arrangement, and that the U.A.R. had never been in a position to agree to any such arrangement.

Students Surrounded Menderes in Ankara

ANKARA (Reuters). — About 100 students surrounded Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and two of his Cabinet members in the street here last night. About 50 of them were arrested.

CLOSED SYSTEM

HALAVINA milk margarine is the only milk margarine in the country made by the CLOSED SYSTEM Method, using special new equipment.

JERUSALEM SURPRISED

Political quarters in Jerusalem last night expressed surprise at the news that the U.A.R. had agreed to a ceasefire.

The world is yours with EGGED
The Page Two

Druse Village Yields Hoard Of 2,000-year-old Coins

By YACOVY ARON, Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — A hoard of thousands of silver coins dating back to the beginning of the Christian era (50 B.C.E. to about 50 C.E.) has come to light on Mt. Carmel. The exact number will probably never be determined, so many have already "disappeared" into private collections.

U.S. Luxury Liner Cancels Haifa Stop

HAIFA. — The Moore-McCormack American luxury liner, the *Mauretania*, yesterday cancelled its scheduled stop at Haifa on Sunday when it was due to arrive in Haifa on Sunday with 250 American cruise passengers.

Israel's Progress Amazing, Says Black

THE PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD Bank, Mr. Eugene Black, said yesterday that Israel's progress in the past few years was "amazing" and that he had "a great deal of confidence" in the country's future.

BOYCOTTED AT SUEZ

SUEZ (UPI). — The American cruise ship *Mauretania* was yesterday boycotted at Suez by the Arab shipping companies.

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K Says US 'Aggressive Sources' Seek to 'Interfere in Summit'

U.S.: Pilot's Oxygen Failed

WASHINGTON. — The State Department said yesterday that the pilot of a U.S. plane which the Soviet Union claimed to have shot down on May Day might have lost consciousness through oxygen failure in his cockpit.

K's Opinion Of Nixon

MOSCOW. — Referring to President Eisenhower's inability to devote more than seven days to the summit, Mr. Khrushchev said the duration of the meeting must be determined by the necessity of achieving results.

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American Plane Shot Down

Prime Minister Khrushchev started the Supreme Soviet yesterday by announcing that an American plane had intruded into Soviet territory on May Day and had been shot down — proof that aggressive sources in the U.S. were "taking action to interfere with the summit."

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Thank you, Mr. Groucho!

My wife just loved the surprise I brought her last week — the bottle of Mr. Hamish "Extra" Oil. She says there's now like it for salads, frying, cooking and baking. Mr. Hamish "Extra" Oil — the only one refined with the new American "CI" method! (Advt.)



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Western Policy of Ignoring Peking Seen as Prelude to Third World War

By reason of her size, her population, her developed industry, and the determining character of her resources, the United States is about to become — with or without the bomb — a Great Power. In this content, the bomb is not a factor dragging a stronger ally with her, but in command of weaker allies or independent nations. The bomb is the basis of a Great Power status, either for good (if it is argued) or for evil, the bomb in the hands of Germany, Japan, or Russia, among other lesser Powers.

The two existing Great Powers — the United States and the Soviet Union — are nuclear-armed, satisfied Powers. They are content with the present division of the world, or, at the least, disinclined to redivide it. The Soviet Union of this division as are not

A Week in

23 Times

University of Maryland where he played star football — he got a check — for three years. (It was the University, incidentally, that he took up his nickname of "rowdy" due to the ability he had shown to develop a tremendous number of puns.) He returned the note to the Star B which he uses as his little identity.

The Hitlerian regime was in three years away, but Germany was rife with i-k-h and-Semitism.

"I'm not just the guy to look and see people get ahead around," he says. "I've been vigorously introducing his law practice, exploiting his spare time for Jewish and Zionist affairs."

Marble Pump and Gunstone for Prince Margaret's Wedding

of the Royal Academy of the Bechamner, the Lord Chamberlain, the High Bailiff of Westminster, the High Sheriff of Westminster, the Lord Mayor of the City of London, the Master of the Horse and other dignitaries will take their places in the

travel, the British have
fair competition from thou-
sands of citizens of republics...
It is expected that half-a-
million people will line the
route of the procession, and
citizens here will be milling
round the vicinity.
There has to be more, however.

ORT invites *the*
teaching vocations
We invite you to
ORT IN
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MORITZ *and*
Let your

to the expense of soldiers
of the Britannia Association.
However, the Government
thought it was not too much
that is more, a Labour Gov-
ernment would not have
sent out heavy loss. It is
not a many habit of an
Opposition to be penny-wise.
(The Times, Page 12)

It's yours,
for the youth
of our schools.
BRAN
and, Tel Aviv.

UCHLER

It would be ridiculous to believe, writes Leuchter,

Monmouth. (World Agenda) sees in this request to end the picketing an attempt to prove to the Arabs that the mainstream press does not support the boycott.

The paper fails to understand why the White House is so excited, since it is the Arab-American who will be the one to receive the American ships.

The decision to send food gifts to non-American ships will only be interpreted in Cairo as an act of appeasement. The President will not for long be able to ignore the Senate's request that he take economic measures against Na-

In view of the White House's anti-Israel stand Heron asks: "What has happened, Mr. Prime Minister? Our propaganda made the

Swallowtail

JULIAN B. Vensky is a
University of Maryland where

A black and white portrait of a middle-aged man with a receding hairline, wearing a dark suit, white shirt, and dark tie. He is looking slightly to the left of the camera with a serious expression. The background is dark and out of focus.

"I'm not just the guy to get back and see people get picked around," he says. He rose himself vigorously into building up his law practice, exploiting his spare time for the Communist and Zionist affairs. "I was a Communist for 10 years."

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TENDER NO. 41
Supply of Materials

For the Municipal Water Network
The Tel Aviv-Yafo Municipality hereby invites bids for the supply of the following materials for the Municipal water network: —

Galvanized Pipes, external and internal coated Steel Pipes, external coated Steel Pipes, galvanized Fittings, Steel Flanges, Fire Joints (Dresser Coupling), Hydraulic Globe Valves and Strainers (V) Valves, Electrodes, Welding Wire, Carbons, Hypochlorite, Rubber with cloth and washers, Toilet, plastic Toilet Corgers, Flush Boxes, Wash Sinks, Kitchen Sinks.

Applications form are available at the Municipal Department of Supply, 22 Baker House (2d floor), between 8 a.m. and 3 p.m.

Applications should be submitted in duplicate, in a closed envelope marked "Tender for Supply of Material for Municipal Water Network" by registered mail only, to the Town Clerk, 27 Ruben Shalom, room 27, not later than May 15.

Applications should be accompanied by bank deposits of 5 per cent of the value of the bid, by a bank guarantee or any other guarantee acceptable to the Municipal Treasurer.

The Municipality is not bound to accept the lowest or any other bid, and may divide its among several bidders.

in both tourists and investors."

In the next five years, with the proper organization of the various relations network, it should be able to bring in at least \$200m. in private investments. The money will come from small investors, mostly industrialists and businessmen, and from businessmen setting up their own plants. And the attraction of all is that the investors will get a 10 per cent return on their money."

His approach is that of a businessman, for he is on the board of directors of the Israel Investors Corporation, headed by his fellow Peorlan man (Rothberg) which itself expects to bring in \$50m. within the next five to seven years.

A third-generation American, Mr. Vennick has been in the United States since birth. He became a citizen in 1930 and returned to Eilat in 1939 from the

new Congress; and Treasurer of the American Friends of Israel.

He has a thrilling experience in Israel — it omits his impressions of his separate visits which blend together to form an "unbroken line" of growth and development — was this week's Independence Day Parade in Haifa.

"I gave me a good feeling," he says, "after hearing all that Arab propaganda about wiping Israel out to see those boys marching to the front lines and then to become imbued with their spirit. It gave me a relaxed feeling of security — not that I should let our guard down."

Mr. Vennick was yesterday the last member of the Peorlan group to arrive in the city of his home in Jerusalem. On Wednesday, he was received by the President.

H. DEAN

RAILWAYS
Editor, The Jamaican Post
St. James, Jamaica

But, we should like to see an analysis of Mr. Polk's report regarding the shunters in your issue of April 1935.

Passenger trains to Nahnatch and Jerusalem are vital, and shunters may be a necessary paying proposition. But the Laredo Railway is not only a purely "business concern" but also an important "public service" which has a number of demands; that being an axiom maintain stations like ours, and therefore the staff must be kept there.

It is to be regretted that the engine room is the scene of a shunting locomotive sometimes crowded by three out of those five personnel by your correspondence are shunters.

Shunt engines were introduced.

It is a known fact that the operation of shunting, fire and fire is impossible here and therefore the alternative is to enlarge the productivity of each employee on the one hand, and to await the natural reduction caused by retirement, pensions, etc., on the other.

In 1932-3, when dismantling and the building of the new engine house, Laredo Railway employed a staff of 2,150 whereas the staff in 1930 (including 100 over and above the permanent establishment), was 2,500.

Quoted by Laredo Railway shunters.

Dismissed by Laredo Railway only when the steam engines,

CHLETTE

Advise and Consent
By Allan Drury
The President Is In The U.S.S.
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A meeting of the Tel Aviv District

Will be held on Sunday, May 8, 1909,
at the U. S. Auditorium, at 8 P. M.

Subject: Our Demands of the Ministry of Finance
Speaker: DR. SCHREYELOWITZ, Advocate,
Member of the National Executive.
Under the auspices of the Association for
Protection of Pensioners.
New members will be registered at the entrance.

ments in the White House and Senate who have now openly come out against us.

From the point of view of AI members, Chairman Kennedy's internal fight is America over the Arab counter-boycott has brought the whole issue of freedom of the seas into the open and it becomes clearer each day that free shipping is indivisible and that discrimination against one country will ultimately affect others.

Malenkov (non-party) accepts the Soviet 'No' to a bid for discussion as final. It will no doubt make a bad impression in the West, but it will not enhance our prestige there either, especially at a time when the West is branding itself for the coming boom.

Haras (Ministry) writes that even if talks with the Soviets yielded us nothing they could have done no harm, but since Moscow has fit to deny us the op-

A BOOK

at any time

The Nicot

for your

both here and

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and sold at
as low
these go
America

Our choice of titles and
have been widely
Here are a few

By the Management of the
Great Northern Railway. Let me

not out that the "Pick-a-back" system is not yet economical in this country because of the relatively short average distances and the heavy dead weight involved. Renewed operation of the aerial Valley line would not at present be a paying proposition. Yours, etc.

M. GARRING,
Public Relations Officer,
Jersey Railroad
Hills, April 25.

THE SWIMMING SEASON HAS BEGUN

GALE-GIL

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Illustration by **MORIS & TUCHER**

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Composers	Compositions	Conductors	Ensemble-ists
1. Beethoven	Academic Overture Tragic Overture Double Concerto	Henry Wallis	Israel Eliaz Leonard Barto
2. Schubert	Unfinished Symphony Italian Symphony	Erno Markovits	French Radio Orchestra
3. Bach	Two Concerti for Piano	Leonard Bernstein	Orchestra
4. Paganini	Concerto No. 1 for Violin	Charles	Orchestra

22. Nocturne No. 2

[illegible]

ISRAEL FROM 'A' TO 'Z' ON SHOW AT COLISEUM

By The Post Correspondent

For the fourth time Israel takes part in the annual U.S. World Trade Fair, held this time at the New York Coliseum in the heart of Manhattan, from May 4 to May 14. It is estimated that 20,000 persons will visit the Fair, the general public during a five-day period, and commercial buyers for six days. The Israeli pavilion will be on view at the Coliseum, the International Fair and Exposition. The importance of Israel's presence at such fairs increases each year with the country's growth and diversity of its products. These displays amount to proof of the excellence of their design and workmanship as well as of their competitive pricing. In short, of their realistic role in international trade. Israel's fair arrangements are handled by an organization created specifically for this purpose — The Israel Company for Fairs and Exhibitions, Ltd.

The World Trade Fair is a vast display of which Israel makes contact with buyers — an enormous shop window for all exhibitors. But for Israel, with its special economic problems and opportunities, it is even more: it is also a window for potential investors. And the view, as this year's visitors will see, is a very fine one.

The goods on display are tangible — and edible and wearable and drinkable — proof of what Israel can produce. Exhibiting this productivity, achieved within an astonishingly short time and as proof of the success of past investments, is an economic and dramatic way of implementing Israel's new economic "Third Arm" programme for further expanding investments from abroad.

Long-Range Stimulant
Thus, the purpose of the display is not only to create specific orders for immediate sales, but also to function as a long-range stimulant to additional capital. Each pound of nylon stretch yarn, each gallon of paint, is a gift-idea invitation in utilitarian Israel's growing production facilities.



Entrance to the Israel section of the 1960 New York Trade Fair, designed by Abo Elhassan.

— a guarantee that its merchandise can be sold on the world market.

To the far-sighted American businessman, the excellence of a product labelled "Made in Israel" can mean an item for profitable sale. It may well also be — when accompanied by an attractive cost sheet — the incentive for a manufacturing plan headed "To Be Made in Israel."

Wide Variety
The Israel section of the Fair is unique in several ways. First, among the countries displaying a significant variety of goods, Israel (exhibiting break linings and bulbs, gum, dryer, saws and plywood, diamonds and detergents) is the only one whose population is only about five times the number of visitors to the Fair. Furthermore, while the Israel section is only 300 square meters, it proves that Israel has more experience than any other exhibiting country in making the most effective and profitable use of small areas.

By special arrangement, Israel is showing some of its trade figures (in the most Israel figures) in the most present manner possible. For the first time at the Fair, women's fashions will be modelled. The mannequins are five Israeli models, flown to New York by El Al specifically for their twice-daily appearance. The Fair management has arranged for this Israel Fashion Show to take place at the centre of the Fair, separate from the other exhibits. During each showing, the fashion commentary will be punctuated with invitations to the audience to view the industrial exhibits.

Three Categories
Visitors to the Israel Pavilion will see three categories of displays of major importance to the country's economy — tourism, science, and industry. From A (for Antibiotics) produced by a Jerusalem chemical laboratory, to Z (for Zichron-Yaakov, a point of interest in the Tourist's guidebook), the information is all there. Interested in mushroom soup from the Land of the Bible? A short walk past the film display brings the visitor to the food section. There he will discover that margarine (English style), mustard (French variety), and soy sauce (Chinese) are all available.

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...and extremely popular in America are the Israeli-made products. The fact that Israel has a wide range of products, and a growing diversity of products, is also reflected in the Israeli pavilion. At last year's fair only one model was shown; this year the Israeli pavilion was open to the public from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.

Can't straighten out at the rear back of display. Until recently, Israeli goods were sold in the United States through a few small, scattered outlets. But with the growing diversity of products for export, the Israeli pavilion has been set up in the U.S. with a dedicated staff. At last year's fair only one model was shown; this year the Israeli pavilion was open to the public from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.

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Israel Mannequins for New York



Top row (from left to right): Hana models Lemberger's champagne broad-tail and pink coat; Zina in a sleek Götter creation that features embroidery on suit and wrap; butterfly back, adjustable, on low cut Dina swim suit that Lea, who will be in charge of the mannequins for the New York showing, wears to perfection.

Below, Teled's young girl scarf from worn by Nurit, youngest mannequin in the group; Zina appears again in Maskit's new casual evening dress of wool, cotton and lurex, with Yemite belt clasp; and Hana in a smooth Aled jersey in three shades of gray.

QUALITY FIRST Export Fashion Highlights

PORT HANNOVER
SOLCOON'S experience in the American market shows that price is of less importance than quality in gaining a foothold there for Israeli-made goods.

Mr. A. Keren, export manager of the company, which distributes the products of Koor Industries, a price differential may, of course, help to obtain orders. But American customers are not especially eager to make bargain purchases. They are much more after good quality and reliable supply, and are ready to pay for it.

As a matter of fact, quite a number of Israeli products are rated as satisfactory and even very good, says Mr. Keren, but the main problem is securing uniform quality according to the stringent grading applied in the U.S. Should one shipment prove faulty, or simply not as per requirements, the customer's confidence in the supplier will be shattered, and it will take much time and trouble to regain it. Another difficulty is keeping a supply steady, and the customer abroad, for that requires the careful planning of shipments and sometimes accumulation of stocks. Some Israeli exporters, however, found a way to reduce the stocks which it too initially kept there, and prefer wherever possible to ship the goods (e.g. plastic glass) direct from Haifa.

Special attention must be given to packing, says the Solcoor manager, not only because of the distance but because the American clients are very particular in this respect, and the quality and the design of packing, while Israeli manufacturers have become used to the minimum in this respect during World War Two and the austerity period that followed it.

The same applies to design, and to publicity, which is conducted much more aggressively in the U.S. than in Israel. In all these — and many other points — careful study of the market requirements may save exporters a lot of losses and disappointments, says Mr. Keren, even in cases where the basic conditions for successful trade are met and steady business may eventually develop.

By NILGA DUDMAN
Special to The Jerusalem Post

FOR the first time at the New York Trade Fair, an increasingly important group of Israeli exports — women's fashions — will be shown by Israeli models. At last year's fashion parade, five models will present highlights of what a dozen top manufacturers are now producing for export.

The only such show at the Fair, the parade will show the Israeli fashion industry. On the one hand are the new achievements of contemporary Israeli designers; on the other hand, the timeless beauty of folk art and craftsmanship. In the most interesting cases — from bathing suits to formal wear — the Israeli designers have blended successfully.

Elegant Aled
Diamonds not necessarily the type that are a girl's best friend, are Israeli's chief export to the U.S. Beautiful stones, possibly a girl's second-best friend, are part of the second major export group (which also includes men's raincoats and fabrics). But while such exports are important to Israel, they are still comparatively unknown in the home of American women. A few elegant Aled suits for instance are delightful individual customers of exclusive shops in New York, Miami, or Los Angeles.

But — the American market being what it is — a shipment of Aled jerseys to New York is simply a delightful drop in a vast bucket. Thus, this Fair show is important because it will present an impressive variety of fashions to a large audience, one with no special Jewish orientation and not solely from major cities.

Of special interest is what only Israel can market: the originality and workmanship seen in the hand-woven and hand-embroidered styles from Maskit, Wino and Telva. Israeli women take this for granted; but American women, long accustomed to the advantages of mass production, will have a chance to see that individuality still adds to contemporary wardrobes.

Definitely not for export are the five girls who will be modeling. Three are married, all are employed by Israeli firms. Their names — Hana, Zina, Lea, and Dina — have a ring of Israeli glamour; their freshness has a girl-across-the-street appeal. Typically Israeli women, who of course as well as black-haired and were born in Germany, Poland, and Iraq as well as Israel. This very diversification of figure-type and coloring makes an interesting link with the "average" American woman, who of course does not exist. The Israeli designer thus already knows some of the problems of the American market.

Some of the most attractive fashions in Israel's balance of trade come in knitted-jersey that is eminently wearable, eminently original. Wearable, eddy gold to blue-knit, in a two-piece cocktail dress that packs travel, dines out, Dorina extends the sweater-idea into a three-piece ensemble of coffee-and-cream, with stripes that are precise yet surprising. From Aled comes a beautifully fitting off-white jersey dress, the waist a matter of draped ribbon. A black jersey suit has a pale sweater showing above the collar; and the violet ribbon at the waist is actually a removable summerboard.

Suggested new evening-gown for American women: a shimmering knitwear fashion: Is it from Rome? Paris? Or Israel?

WITH miles of Mediterranean coastline and a year-round swimming climate, it is not surprising that important designing skills are concentrating on swimwear. But these are not merely swimwear; they are fashion ensembles with a degree of sophistication that may surprise the American market. They have matching jackets, shoes, or hats. Götter makes a gleaming sheath of white lace, enriched with embroidery — almost an evening-dress among bathing suits, perhaps for swimming by candlelight. With it is a pale blue jacket, made for the beach, but which could easily go into town over a black dress.

Another example of the shape, style and fit is Dina's blue and black suit with matching shirt. Dina cuts backs dramatically low, but the suit holds their own all around — Israeli women actually swim!

From Wino (with Maskit), a creative force in the enrichment of fashion through folk crafts, comes a young sleeveless cotton dress with gold and white embroidery. A simple yet special. For coffee in a penthouse, blue and yellow striped pants and tunic. In case the coffee is cold, there is also a dark blue unbuttoned cape. A dress the colour of Jaffa oranges, with insects of embroidery, has a removable gold-accented collar. A dress the colour of Jaffa oranges, with insects of embroidery, has a removable gold-accented collar.

Maskit Hopac
From Maskit, where everything is hand-woven except the zipper, comes a multi-colored hopac suit, the jacket lined in striped cotton. It is beautifully done. It can be worn reversed. The matching bottoms are poppies gripped in silver buttons. This is a fine example of Maskit's talent for weaving and growing out of the ingredients of nature. Also from Maskit is a white coat and skirt suit with a reversible collar and cuffs, the skirt flared with an ultra wide hem.

Clustering the pants to Maskit's is a evening-sleeved striped in gold — a complete absence of frills and padding. A Yemite Jew fashion.

Also on view are some surprises for the export market — after all, outfitting, and furs as well as bathing-suits and evening-dresses. Perhaps because Israel's rainy season is a short one, the raincoat makers have decided that raincoats should be made for wear in the sunshine, too. From Maskit comes a pink-and-blue color-coat of herringbone, and another of striped green, which will never wait for dampness. Also from Maskit, a coat in cream felt of a weight and warmth appropriate to Jerusalem or Paris. From Maskit, a black-and-white tweed coat striking in texture, style and color. Other raincoats: black lace at black; black stripes with an orange-diamond style.

In view of its certain popularity, Israeli fashion is to be held in a special area of the Coliseum, and integrated with the industrial exhibits through announcements during the parade.

The most splendid of far away are the Israeli models in Israel. Lemberger makes a precious hand-woven broadtail, edged in diamond. The cut here is as high and snug as a bodice, but the look is for the woman who deserves everything. Also from Lemberger, the white-cotton look (only here it's orange) in black broadtail.

Telva, making its debut on the U.S. market, shows cocktail dresses for all tastes. For the girl just beginning to learn about beauty, a summery white dress with stars of lace and embroidery. Other raincoats: black lace at black; black stripes with an orange-diamond style.

In view of its certain popularity, Israeli fashion is to be held in a special area of the Coliseum, and integrated with the industrial exhibits through announcements during the parade.

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Architects Play Leading Role in Fair Display

Made in Israel Seen as Best

By HARRY BENY
Architectural Editor

MADE IN ISRAEL will be the slogan of the Israeli pavilion at the New York World Trade Fair. The slogan is not only a statement of fact, but also a statement of pride. It is a statement of the fact that the Israeli people are now producing goods of their own, and that they are proud of the results.

For the first time in the history of the fair, the Israeli pavilion will be a masterpiece of modern architecture. It will be a masterpiece of modern architecture, and it will be a masterpiece of modern architecture. It will be a masterpiece of modern architecture, and it will be a masterpiece of modern architecture.

It follows that the pavilion of the Israeli people is a masterpiece of modern architecture. It is a masterpiece of modern architecture, and it is a masterpiece of modern architecture. It is a masterpiece of modern architecture, and it is a masterpiece of modern architecture.

Mr. Haim Golan, a 40-year-old graduate of the Technion, is first on the list to represent Israel at the New York World Trade Fair. He is a graduate of the Technion, and he is a graduate of the Technion.

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Section of the Israeli pavilion at the New York World Trade Fair.



The Bible display at the Israeli pavilion.



Part of the Israeli pavilion at the New York World Trade Fair.

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Diamonds, Raincoats Top Exports to U.S.

Prices Match Competition

By the Associated Press

Imports of diamonds and raincoats from Israel to the United States are expected to be significant this year, according to officials of the Israel Ministry of Commerce.

The two countries are expected to trade a wide variety of goods, including agricultural products, textiles, and minerals. The Israeli Ministry of Commerce is currently negotiating trade agreements with the United States.

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Product	Value (in thousands of dollars)
Diamonds	1,200
Raincoats	800
Other goods	500
Total	2,500

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Wine Exports Up

By HAIM GOLAN
Managing Director,
Carmel Wine Company

Wine exports from Israel are expected to increase significantly this year, according to officials of the Carmel Wine Company.

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THE JERUSALEM POST

Friday, May 2, 1958

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Chemical production line at Electrochemical Industries.

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Jerusalem Post Reporter

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By Our Jerusalem Staff

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The Danes and Youth Aliya

David W. Brown and the
John W. Brown

[illegible]

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For Those Poor Dieters

BATS LOSS OF HAIR
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Sprinklers on Display

Exhibition Fair Building

One of the outstanding displays in the Bulawayo Fair contains products which are of special interest to Central African farmers. This is a display of Israeli-manufactured irrigation equipment which in the relatively young life of this industry has won acclaim on the world market for its high quality, excellent performance, and, moreover, its highly competitive prices.

Much of Israel's success during the past decade in reclaiming the wastelands is due to the performance of her irrigation equipment, in whose manufacture considerable research and experimentation was invested. As a result, Israel has also acquired much important know-how in the area of irrigation which, like the equipment, is also in great demand by countries whose soil and climatic problems resemble Israel's.

Thus, Israeli manufacturers of irrigation equipment can offer the Rhodesian farmer

as a wide variety of products meeting all the complex demands of modern agriculture. Elmal, Ltd. of Tel Aviv are offering galvanized pipes in diameters of 2", 3" and 4" and lengths of six, nine and 22 metres, and aluminium pipes of 2", 3", 4" and 6" diameter for immediate delivery. Aluminium pipes in diameters of 8", 10", 12" and 14" are offered for delivery within eight weeks of receipt of the order. Air-welded galvanized pipes made of zinc-grip alloy can be supplied with welded bayonet couplings or lever-type "German" couplings. Aluminium pipes, too, are offered with these accessories or with aluminium-cast "Rabbit" couplings of either the latch or the "clamp-on" type.

Variety of Models

The Peleg company, which works closely with Elmal, offers every variety of "Dorot" valve — oblique or straight for main lines or laterals, with latch connection, thread or flange for all possible combinations and every required diameter. Pe-

Israeli Fashion Show

The Israeli Fashion Show at the World Trade Fair in New York's Madison Avenue is proving the Fair's leading attraction, co-chaired by Mr. A. Rabin, Israel's Trade Commissioner in New York. Thousands were turned away from the exhibition hall, holding 1,000 spectators, during Sunday's three shows. The Fashion Editor of NBC Television is so enthusiastic about the show that a telecast of it is being arranged coast-to-coast over the network's most popular morning programme.

leg also offers "Na'an" agricultural and horticultural sprinklers, especially designed for low and medium pressure and for all climatic, soil, crop and water conditions. Peleg has also developed wide-range sprinklers for high pressure, especially suitable for irrigating sugar cane, coffee and tea plantations.

Both companies offer their clients the consultation services of their water engineers, to help design and plan entire projects and execute package jobs.

Firm Sea Link With African Ports

By YACOV FRIMMER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEFORE the final campaign shipping relations between Southern Africa and Israel were restricted to an occasional vessel making the long haul from the Cape of Good Hope to Haifa via Gibraltar.

Since the opening of the Straits of Tiran to Israel shipping, however, a regular cargo route between Eilat and Durban has been established.

The route is today covered by seven ships (of about 3,000 tons each) run by Zim, the Israeli national shipping company. These include two Israeli flag ships, the Akko and Kessarya, and the foreign chartered vessels: Good Fortune, Pelion, E. Nielsen and the Katerina and Emma Polder. One ship sails from Eilat almost every week, calling at Massawa, Assab, Djibouti, Mombasa, Tanga, Dar es-Salaam, Beira, Tamatave, Mauritius and Quelimane, as they ply down the coast of East Africa, to Durban. When sufficient cargoes are available, the ships sometimes carry on to Cape Town as well.

The ships take Israel cargoes from Eilat and discharge and load additional goods at their ports of call, all the way to the Union of South Africa. Though Israel exports carried by them to South Africa are still rather limited, they are growing steadily.

Now that the cargo service has been so firmly and successfully established, shippers are studying the passenger traffic between the two countries, with a view of slicing off a share of that traffic for themselves. The Holy Land is an obvious attraction for Jewish and Christian, Rhodesian and South Africans alike. Many make the trip, or pilgrimage, coming by air. Zim experts are now considering the possibility of attracting some of them to come by sea, via Eilat.



For a start a mixed passenger-cargo ship would be needed, until the passenger volume grows sufficiently to warrant a passenger liner. Such a multi-purpose ship has obvious disadvantages, as loading operations in the intermediate ports would slow it down considerably. But, experts are confident that such a service will indeed be established and prove itself attractive and profitable.

Winter Tourist Cruise

Zim is also planning a seven-week winter cruise for South African tourists, starting from Cape Town. For this, the Zim luxury liner, the 10,000-ton s.s. Jerusalem, will be used. The cruise, to cost from £450 to £1,000, will take in the Caribbean and Mediterranean, stopping at many sightseeing ports. It is hoped to inaugurate the cruise either this or next autumn, and to make it an annual affair. The Jerusalem would bring the tourists to Haifa as the final port of call, enabling them to see the Holy Land as well. From here, they would return home by sea or air.

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THE JERUSALEM POST

ROYAL FAIR
BULAWAYO
May, 1960

Queen Mother to Open Kariba and Trade Fair

HER Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, who is now in the Federation of Rhodesia, to open officially the first stage of the Kariba hydro-electric project on the Zambezi River on May 27, is also opening the Royal Trade Fair at Bulawayo on May 14.

Queen Elizabeth takes a deep interest in, and has identified herself with, many aspects of British national life, and is patron or president of a great number of bodies, hospitals, institutions and educational foundations, whose fortunes she follows with close concern. Education is another subject in which she has devoted much of her time, and her numerous public engagements include many visits to schools and colleges.

Her Majesty has held a particular place in the affections of the British people since she became known to the whole nation at the time of her engagement to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, later King George VI. She was then 22. The youngest daughter of the 14th Earl and the Countess of Strathmore, Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon was educated at home. She was born into a music-loving family, and as a child showed an aptitude for the piano and for dancing; music and the ballet are still among her greatest artistic interests. She had a flair also for languages, and by the age of ten was fluent in French.

King George V died in January, 1936, and in December came the abdication of King Edward VIII. The Duke and Duchess of York were called upon to assume the throne. Their accession was proclaimed on December 11, 1936, and their coronation took place on May 28 the next year.

During World War II the Queen shared the dangers

In the robes of Chamberlain of London University, the Queen Mother is seen at Maudslayi College — the University College of East Africa, during a previous visit.

and difficulties of the rest of the British nation. She was in Buckingham Palace when it was bombed in September, 1940; she accompanied the King on his immediate visits to badly bombed areas, which did so much to hearten the civilians.

Typical of her whole attitude was her reply to a question, early in the war, as to whether the little Princesses were going to Canada: "The children will not leave unless I do; I shall not leave unless their father does; and the King will not leave the country in any circumstances whatever."

Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother has maintained the connections with the Commonwealth and the interest in overseas travel which were born both as Duchess of York and as Queen. A previous visit to Rhodesia was made with Princess Margaret in 1950 at the time of the Central Africa Rhodesian Exhibition, which she opened.



Part of the Israel exhibit seen at the Royal and Bulawayo Fairs.

Growing Trade with Africa

Israel Conveniently Situated for Rhodesia

By Our Economic Editor

ISRAEL's successful participation in the Johannesburg trade exhibition—which has won her a first prize and many sizeable orders—augurs well for the exhibition in Bulawayo, which may become a new start for our budding commerce with Rhodesia. Now that the opening of the Tiran Straits to Israel and international shipping has put Israel on the map of the Indian Ocean's shipping lanes, it is only natural that trade with East Africa should grow. It has, however, taken some time to put the Eilat harbour into good shape, develop regular shipping services based on it, and create modern road connections between Eilat and the rest of Israel. Now at last private business can develop satisfactorily.

This historical background has to be borne in mind when one faces the fact that Israel-Rhodesian trade relations are scarcely three years old. In fact, in 1957 the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland with its population of 8,000,000, was still lumped together with other "British possessions and territories in Eastern Africa" in our foreign trade statistics.

Even now imports from the Federation account for no more than one tenth of one per cent of Israel's trade, while Israel supplies about one half of one per cent of the Federation's imports. Nevertheless this mutual trade has been developing rather rapidly, as shown by the following figures for Israel's exports to the Federation:

1955	\$ 1,000
1957	\$ 22,000
1958	\$110,000
1959	\$114,000

The variety of this trade shows that Israel may serve as a convenient supplier of many goods for the rapidly expanding Rhodesian market. The list of items sold in quantities of over \$5,000 in 1959 includes the following: raw gypsum, seeds, canned fruit and vegetables, edible oil, instant coffee, glucose, sweets, chewing gum, spare parts for motor vehicles, oil burners, pencils, medicines, chemicals, flexible pressure pipes, refrigerators, ethylene dibromide, cotton fabrics, knitted underwear, hosiery, rubber bands, cotton yarn and air conditioners. Many other articles, sent to Rhodesia in trial consignments, have good prospects of developing into sizeable trade lines. While the Federation's economy is expanding apace, it is — due to various local and historical reasons — mainly concentrated in a small number of industries. Now can it expect to get

many of the goods it requires from the adjacent South African dominion, or indeed from any other country more conveniently situated than Israel.

It is interesting to note that at the Israel Export Institute, an organization set up to advise and consult with foreign agents on trade possibilities, the greatest number of inquiries in recent months has been from importers in South and Central Africa.

Whether Israel will also prove a convenient customer for Rhodesia's products is

much less obvious, because of the special character of the Federation's exports, most of which are minerals — mainly copper, gold, chrome, lead, steel — and agricultural staple goods like cotton, tobacco and maize. The fact is, however, that Rhodesia is not especially interested in a particular customer for her products, for her industries have been intentionally developed for the world market. This applies even to her high-grade Virginia-type tobacco. Nevertheless, close commercial relations rarely remain one-sided.

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Israel Exhibit Was Hauled Across Three Countries

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
THE opening of the Israel
pavilion at the Central
African Trade Fair in Bulaw-
wayo marks the end of one
of the most remarkable ven-
tures in Israel's foreign ex-
hibitions record.

Following an on-the-spot
survey conducted in South
Africa, Rhodesia and Kenya
by Dr. Justice Dayan, the
Director-General of the Is-
rael Fair and Exhibition
Company, 2,500 cubic feet of
exhibition fixtures and goods
were hauled to Elit in De-
cember 1959 and shipped
aboard Elit's Katharina Fel-
der to the East African port
of Mombasa from where
they were railed to Nairobi,
Kenya's capital.

An Israel architect, Mr.
E. Vardimon, then took over
and mounted, in a record
72 hours, the first Israel
trade exhibition in East
Africa. The exhibit, described
as the most beautiful ever
put up in this region, proved
an eye-opener to thousands
of Europeans, Africans and
Indians, who for the first



Loading the Israel Exhibit at Nairobi.

time got a compact picture
of Israel's achievements in
industry and agriculture.
As the gates of this exhibi-
tion closed, the doors of two
giant trucktrails were
thrown open to accommo-
date the 20 tons of exhibits,
which then travelled three
hundred miles across coun-
try roads through Tanganyika
and Rhodesia in order
to arrive in Johannesburg
after a 17-day journey —
just in time for the Rand
Easter Show celebrating 50
years of Union Industry in
South Africa.

Gold Medal Earned
In a parallel move, an-
other boat that set out in
good time from Elit arrived
with an additional load of ex-
hibits and fixtures, thus
putting the Israel pavilion

in the unprecedented posi-
tion of accommodating 100
exhibitors on a floor-space of
200 square metres. These
fixtures, complemented by
excellent management, ser-
vice of buyers and the high
level of the display, brought
the Israel pavilion the high-
est award, the gold medal.

Back on the road, the ex-
hibition rolled to its final
destination, the Royal Central
African Trade Fair in
Bulawayo, where it is ex-
pected to "steal the show"
again before winding up its
unprecedented mission.

This mission, expertly or-
ganized and executed by the
Israel Company for Fairs and
Exhibitions, is carrying the
message of Israel's export
potential to new markets of
the African continent.

Kariba Solves Power Problem

By A Special Correspondent

THE Kariba project, an
1,900 ft. long, built across the
Kariba Gorge on the Zambesi
river, in the Federation of
Rhodesia and Nyasaland,
now impounding the river
for the generation of electric
power is the greatest scheme
of its kind in Africa south
of the Sahara. It is being
carried out by the Govern-
ment of the Federation through
the Federal Power Board,
to ensure adequate supplies
of electric power for the rap-
idly growing economy, and
particularly for the country's
mineral and manufacturing
industries, which consume
about 80 per cent of the
power produced in the Fe-
deration.

The rate of expansion of
the economy of the Federa-
tion has been among the
most rapid in the world; na-
tional income increased by
nearly 27 per cent between
1954 and 1958, and the rate
of investment (43 per cent
of the Gross National Pro-
duct in 1957) was maintain-
ed in 1958 at the very high
level of 36 per cent in spite
of the low world price of
copper, the Federation's main
export, in 1957 and 1958. The
Northern Rhodesian Copper-



belt is the largest source of
copper in the British Com-
monwealth, and the third
largest (after the United
States and Chile) in the
world. The Federation also
produces other important mi-
nerals including chrome ore,
asbestos and gold. Besides
the expansion of the mineral
industry, manufacturing activi-
ty has increased markedly.
To maintain this rapid eco-
nomic growth, increased po-
wer resources are essential.

Supplies of Power

Hitherto, electric power in
the Federation has been
mainly generated by ther-
mal stations using coal from
the Wankie coalfield in

Southern Rhodesia. In the
early 1950s, the difficulties of
transporting sufficient coal
by rail over the single line
from Wankie coalfield to the
Copperbelt in Northern Rhod-
esia, and to other industrial
centres, led to serious power
shortages.

In comparison with the ex-
pansion of thermal power
stations, it was estimated
that the Kariba project would
show a cumulative saving of
£32m. by 1971 and thereafter
an annual saving of £10m.
An important consideration
influencing the decision in
1953 to proceed with the Ka-
riba scheme forthwith was
the urgent need for addition-
al power. Demand for electri-
city by the main industrial
areas of the Federation was
expected to rise to 3,300 mil-
lion kilowatt hours (kWh)
by 1960 and to 7,300 million
kWh by 1970; consumption at
that time (1954-55) was about
1,800 million kWh. Much of
this demand comes from the
Copperbelt. The total cost of
the project is estimated at
£119m. of which £74m. will
be required for stage one.

Initial Output

ON January 1, 1960, power
flowed from the first tur-
bine in the power station at
Kariba. The first turbine ge-
nerator set is expected to
produce 70 megawatts initial-
ly and ultimately 100 mega-
watts. Five other 100 mega-
watt turbine generator sets
are to be installed in the
underground power station on
the south bank of the Zam-
besi River at the rate of
about one every four months.
It is reported that the first
stage of the project will be
finished in March 1961.

Work is in progress on the
second stage of the project,
the construction of a power
station on the north bank of
the Zambesi, to be one and
a half times as large as that
on the south bank. A coffer
dam, within which the un-
derground work will be
started, has been completed.
Work on this stage is ex-
pected to be at its busiest
between 1962 and 1964. The
second stage is due to be
finished in 1972 or possibly
earlier.

The Chairman of the Fe-
deral Power Board has said
that a third stage of power
generation at Kariba was be-
ing considered. The Board
was carrying out hydrologi-
cal investigations but the
feasibility of a third stage
depended on the potential
energy of the Zambesi being
greater than was expected.

Israel Wins Rand Gold Medal

By HELGA BUDMAN

ISRAEL's participation in Johannesburg's recent Rand Easter Show, the most important industrial fair in southern Africa, was marked by a number of extremely important and curiously varied factors.

First: the Show ran, as originally scheduled, from April 4 to April 23. As these dates make all too clear, it coincided to an almost incredible degree with South Africa's internal crisis, which has been front-page news ever since. Pointing up this tragic coincidence is the fact that Dr. Verwoerd, the South African Prime Minister, had made arrangements to visit the Israel Pavilion on precisely the morning an attempt was made on his life.

Second: this year's Show— in which Israel is participating for the seventh time — marks the 50th year of the Union of South Africa's independence. Special efforts were therefore made by the dozen exhibiting countries, including Israel, to give added impact and importance to their efforts.

Third: 1960 marks the first year in which Israel products can compete in South Africa on a basis of equality with other countries. For it was not until December, 1959 — after having become a member of GATT, the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade — that Israel was transferred by the South African Government from the class of maximum customs tariff to the intermediary one. Until that time, Israel exports to South Africa had been severely handicapped. South African importers sometimes paid 80 per cent higher duties for goods from Israel than for goods exported by GATT countries.

Fourth: as increasing use is made of the port of Eilat, shipping trade between Israel and South Africa becomes less costly, and therefore of more practical importance.

100 Manufacturers

One cannot, here and now, evaluate the possible negative effects of the apartheid crisis on the Show's total success. It is of course generally true that on-the-spot residents, during critical times, continue to go about their business in a manner quite unimaginable by readers of foreign newspapers. In any case, approximately 700,000 persons visited the Show in Johannesburg, and it is roughly estimated that of that number, 500,000 took a look at Israel's pavilion.

There they saw the products of about 100 Israel manufacturers — double the number who showed last year. What they saw — housed in a pavilion built two years ago, and ranging in theme from solar heaters to WISO mosaics, from chocolates to refrigerators, from hybrid seeds to knitted suits — was



Israel-made solar-heating unit on display at Rand show attracted much attention.

displayed in such an effective way that Israel was awarded one of the three Gold Medals given for excellence at the Show.

It is as yet far too early to state what specific results the Show has achieved, in actual commercial terms. Agreements involved agents from Capetown, Pretoria and Durban — which means that activity has been widened from the Johannesburg area. Special interest was shown in the fields of textiles, electrical appliances (both refrigerators and electrical fans), and lightweight irrigation equipment. With such products now for the first time on equal footing with competitors, it is hoped that the efforts at the Show will show measurable results in the very near future. To this end, one innovation at the Show deserves particular attention. Private cubicles were built into the Pavilion's design, where agents and potential

customers could exchange information and discuss business in uninterrupted quiet.

Special interest was also shown in the solar-heating unit on display. And it is not too early to report that, in the field of textiles, orders which had hitherto been placed with European firms were given to Israeli industries.

Dr. Justice-Dayan, Director-General of the Israel Company for Fairs and Exhibitions, was in Johannesburg for the design and administration of the Pavilion, and was present at the ceremony during which the keys to the city of Haifa were presented to Mr. Alee Gershad, the Mayor of Johannesburg, by Mr. Katriel Salmon, Israel's Minister to South Africa.

A factor which distinguishes Israel's commercial activities in South Africa is the nature of the Jewish community there: it is wealthy, and it is actively sympathetic to Israel. There is much good-will towards Israel products; whenever they are at all reasonably priced, they are bought.

Competitive Market

All this, however, must be viewed against the background of the facts, and these are that Israel's exports to South Africa are negligible. Although the figure has doubled during the last three years, it still stood at only £272,000 in 1959 — compared with over \$5m. of Israel exports to the U.S. Yet in 1958 South Africa imported over \$500m. worth of goods, of which \$55m. consisted of goods now being manufactured in Israel. The South African market is extremely competitive; and when quantities are small and distances great, it is almost insurmountably difficult for an importer to keep on hand the inventory necessary to meet immediate demands on a competitive basis.

The success of the Rand Show — and from all accounts it has been judged a complete success, astonishing as this may seem to the distant observer — lies as much in its promotional value and in the establishment of realistic and workable commercial arrangements as in the placing of specific orders. And these, in themselves, have already been gratifying and are expected to increase.

DISPLAY AT OSAKA FAIR

ISRAEL was among the 25 countries represented at the International World Fair in Osaka last month, where the Israel goodwill display of chemicals, arts and crafts, tourist attraction and general information was widely commented on in the Japanese press and has already resulted in serious business enquiries at the Israel Legation in Tokyo.

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The Israel Consul in Johannesburg, Mr. Yehoshua Ben-Zion, and the Israel Minister to South Africa, Mr. Katriel Salmon, handing the keys of the City of Haifa to the Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr. Alee Gershad. The presentation took place at the Israel pavilion at the Rand Show. Looking on at left is Dr. Justice-Dayan, Director-General of the Israel Fair Company.

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'Altneuland'—A Prophetic Novel

HERZL wrote this, his only novel, when his hopes for political success were at their highest. But that he felt "the rush of eagle wings above him," as he had done when seven years before he had written "The Jewish State." These seven years had brought many disillusion. He had also fallen very ill, and overworked as he now was with his many activities, the book had become something of a chore. It took him three years to write, and he often interrupted the work or wrote listlessly, as the Diaries show. Still, he had hopes for a great effect—and those hopes were sharply disappointed; in fact the book aroused enmity even among Zionists. The famous and bitter controversy between Ahad Ha'am and Nordau was one of its negative results.

A Composite Portrait

Herzl used a time-honoured device for his story, which begins in Vienna at the turn of the century. The protagonist Friedrich Lowenberg, a young doctor of law (a composite picture made up of Herzl himself and his friend Heinrich Kann), after a disappointment in love and a depression engendered by his realizing the hopelessness of his future, goes to a desert island with a middle-aged German-American millionaire who has become a million-

threpe and is looking for another such spirit to keep him company. They live in comfort on their island, fully enjoying all kinds of pleasure, but away from "the human pain" and without ever reading a paper. On their way to the island they have paid a short visit to Palestine, then a horrible desolation. Friedrich is affected by Jerusalem, but repelled by everything else, and not much interested. The Gentile, however, is moved to declare that the Jews should come and bring water and willing hands to the land, and it might well prosper.

Return to Palestine

Twenty years later, as Kingscourt, the hermit, wants to have another look at Europe, they come to Palestine again en route, and find it unbelievably changed. The great influx has taken place, the land is renewed, Friedrich is warmly welcomed by a young man whose family he rescued from distress with Kingscourt's "earnest money," and soon the two make up their minds to stay in the "Old-New Land."

From the literary standpoint, *Altneuland* is weak, as are most novels with a purpose. Herzl used for his cast a great many people whom he knew intimately, yet they do not come to life, reminding types distinguished from each other mainly by mannerisms of speech. The story



Herzl in committee at the Basle Congress

is negligible. The most important part of the book is the long speech made by Joe Levy (actually the English Zionist Joseph Cowen), to explain how the old-new land became settled, and how it is administered. This contains astounding visionary feats: national ownership of land; a "mutualistic" society as Herzl calls it, meaning co-

operatives up to the highest level; Socialism side by side with individualistic enterprise; an educational system that is free for all; exploitation of the Dead Sea; clearing of swamps and disappearance of malaria; Haifa a great harbour and a beautiful city climbing up the slopes of Mt. Carmel; and filling the bayside area; Jerusalem rebuilt, including the temple and the university.

Critical Reception

At the time when the book appeared (1902), criticism of the Utopia depicted was only natural. The Palestine of Herzl's dream, it was said, is not Hebrew, it is not even Jewish in any sense. Today, when the dream has become reality, when so much of it can be seen as truly prophetic, these flaws do not loom so large. In fact, Herzl simply could not visualize a Jewish Palestine, let alone a Hebrew one. It was outside his experience—he had in him neither the knowledge nor the desire. He was not in the least anti-Hebrew, as Ahad Ha'am thought; he

made his children learn the language and tried hard to get a smattering himself. He simply thought in cosmopolitan terms.

If at this point his vision failed him, as it had to fail also in the hopes he had for a bi-national state with Arabs and Jews living together in peace, and the whole world freed of the fear of war and the incubus of nationalism, there is enough of prophetic vision in his descriptions to make us marvel. We must remember that Herzl had seen Palestine only for one hectic week, and that his knowledge of technology and agriculture was rudimentary. Yet his love and his faith and the purity of his ethical impulse empowered him to see into the future in a way which only those of us who know the world Herzl lived in, and also the Palestine of those days, can fully appreciate.

PAULA ARNOLD

"Altneuland" will be issued shortly in a new English translation, profusely illustrated, mainly to show the comparison between the Palestine of Herzl's day and Israel today.

Extracts from 'Der Judenstaat'

(Continued from Page 12)

known that wherever we are permitted to take part in the rising of classes, we give up our business as soon as possible. The great majority of Jewish business men give their sons a superior education. Hence, the so-called "Judaizing" of all intellectual professions. But even in economically feebler grades of society, our love of trade is not so predominant as is generally supposed. In the Eastern countries of Europe there are great numbers of Jews who are not traders, and who are not afraid of hard work either. The Society of Jews will be in a position to prepare scientifically accurate statistics of our human forces. The new tasks and prospects that await our people in the new country will satisfy our present handicraftsmen, and will transform many present small traders into manual workers.

As soon as we have secured the land, we shall send over a ship having on board the representatives of the Society, of the Company, and of the local groups, who will enter into possession at once. These men will have three tasks to perform: (1) An accurate scientific investigation of all the natural resources of the country; (2) the organization of a strictly organized administration; (3) the distribution of land.

A DEMOCRACY without a sovereign's useful counterpoise is extreme in appreciation and condemnation, tends to idle discussion in Parliaments, and produces that objectionable class of men—professional politicians. Nations are also really not fit for unlimited democracy at present, and will become less and less fitted for it in the future. For a pure democracy presupposes a predominance of simple customs, and our customs become daily more complex with the growth of commerce and increase of culture. "Le royaume d'une démocratie est la vertu," said wise Montesquieu. And where is this virtue, that is to say, this political virtue, to be met with? I do not believe in our political virtue; first, because

we are no better than the rest of modern humanity; and secondly, because freedom will make us show our fighting qualities first. I also hold a settling of questions by the referendum to be an unsatisfactory procedure, because there are no simple political questions which can be answered merely by Yes and No. The masses are also more prone even than Parliaments to be led away by heterodox opinions, and to be swayed by vigorous ranting. It is impossible to formulate a wise internal or external policy in a popular assembly.

Politics must take shape in the upper strata and work downwards. But no member of the Jewish State will be content, every man will be able and will wish to rise in it. Thus a great upward tendency will invest our people; every individual by trying to raise himself, raising also the whole body of citizens. The ascent will take a normal form, useful to the State and serviceable to the National Idea.

Hence I incline to an aristocratic republic. This would satisfy the ambitious spirit in our people, which has now degenerated into petty vanity.

It might be suggested that our want of a common current language would present difficulties. We cannot converse with one another in Hebrew. Who amongst us has a sufficient acquaintance with Hebrew to ask for a railway ticket in that language? Such a thing cannot be done. Yet the difficulty is very easily circumvented. Every man can preserve the language in which his thoughts are at home. Switzerland affords a conclusive proof of the possibility of a multi-lingual federation. We shall remain in the new country what we now are here, and we shall never cease to cherish with sadness the memory of the native land out of which we have been driven.

We shall give up using those miserable stunted jargons, those Ghetto languages which we still employ, for those were the stealthy tongues of prisoners. Our national teachers will give due attention

to this matter, and the language which proves itself to be of greatest utility for general intercourse will be adopted without compulsion as our national tongue. Our community of race is peculiar and unique, for we are bound together only by the faith of our fathers.

SHALL we end by having a theocracy? No, indeed. Faith unites us, knowledge gives us freedom. We shall therefore prevent any theocratic tendencies from coming to the fore on the part of our priesthood. We shall keep our priests within the confines of their temples in the same way as we shall keep our professional army within the confines of their barracks. Army and priesthood shall receive honours high as their valuable functions deserve. But they must not interfere in the administration of the State which confers distinction upon them, else they will conjure up difficulties without and within.

Every man will be as free and undisturbed in his faith or his disbelief as he is in his nationality. And if it should occur that men of other creeds and different nationalities come to live amongst us, we should accord them honourable protection and equality before the law. We have learnt intolerance in Europe. This is not sarcastically said; for the anti-Semitism of today could only in a very few places be taken for old religious intolerance. It is for the most part a movement among civilized nations by which they try to chase away the spectres of their own past.

THE Jews who wish for a State will have it.

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THE CAUSE AND THE PERSON

By Martin Buber

It was at the Sixth Zionist Congress in 1903. Herzl had just launched the thunder of his denunciation against the opposition; he had answered the criticism of David Tristach, less with factual arguments than with personal counter-criticism in which he dealt with Tristach's own colonizing activities. The chief thrust was a record that had been taken down from a "victim" of this activity.

(It must be mentioned here that throughout this incident I was a member of what was virtually a board of arbitration appointed by the Congress. That board decided, by a vote of three to two — I was of the minority — to issue no detailed statement on the result of its investigations, but some details may be made public today).

Heryl and Nila Mother

Apart from the fact that this thrust was directed against the person rather than against his cause, it was not executed correctly: the "victim" was no victim, and the record — well, it was a record... Herz swung his weapon in good faith; no doubt existed about that. But he had not examined it closely enough beforehand.

After his speech Herz returned into his conference room. Berthold Feiwel and I soon followed him there to point out, as friends of Frietsch, the untenable nature of his accusations, and to demand the appointment of a committee to inquire into them. As we walked the short distance to the conference room, I was profoundly perturbed. I had already, indeed, stood in decisive opposition to Herz since the previous Congress; but this opposition had been wholly objective, and I had not ceased for a moment to have faith in the man. Now, for the first time, my soul revolted — so violently that I still have a physical recollection of it. When I entered the room however, my agitation was in an instant transformed by the sight that met me, and the heart that had just been pounding grew numb.

Only Herzl and his mother were in the room. Frau Jeannette sat in an armchair, silent and unmoving, but her face and eyes shining with the most lively and sympathetic participation — splendid in sympathy as I had known once in my grandmother. Herzl was pacing up and down the room with eager strides, exactly like a cavalryman. His vest was unbuttoned, his breast rose and fell. I had never dreamed that he, whose gestures were always mastered and masterly, could breathe so wildly. It was only later that I noticed his pallor, so strongly did his eyes flash and burn.

The Leader

It became at once compellingly clear to me that here it was impossible to remain inwardly the representative of one side. Outside, in the hall, was a man, my friend and ally, who had been hurt, who had suffered a public injustice. But here was the author of the injustice whose blow had dealt the wound—a man who, though misled was still my leader, sick with zeal; a man consumed with zeal for his faith; his faith in his cause and in himself, the two inextricably bound together.

I was twenty-four years of age and this was perhaps the first time that I had set foot on the soil of tragedy where there is no such thing as being in the right.

There was only one thing to learn that was greater still: how out of the grave of being in the right, the right is resurrected. But this is something I only learned many years later.

Our task had become inwardly impracticable: for speaking to this man opposite, one could only essentially appeal from "his cause," which he so lived to the — truth of his cause, and who could do that? But, of course, we carried out our task; we pointed out, and demanded what we were authorized and obliged to point out and demand.

Hard continued to pace up and down the room, giving no sign that he was listening. Occasionally I glanced at his mother — her face had darkened; there was something there that terrified me, I did not know what it was.

The Girl on the Platform

Suddenly, however, Herd stopped before us, and spoke to us. His tone was by no means what we might have expected — it was a passionate but smiling tone, although there was no smile on his lips. "I would have taken him to task in a wholly different way!" he exclaimed. "Wholly differently! But there before



Here's mother and wife on their way with him to the Sixth Congress.

the platform, directly opposite me, a girl — his fiancée, I have heard — placed herself; there she stood, her eyes flashing at me. A wonderful person. I tell you! I could not do it!"

And now his mouth, too, smiled, as though liberated. And who could have refrained from smiling with him? The charmer "Told" smiled in his romantic way; I, undoubtedly, smiled too, like a schoolboy who has discovered that Horace meant real friends and real sweethearts, and even on the once more brightened face of the old, no, not old at all, gentewoman in the armchair there was a smile, such as I have only observed among the Jewish women of that generation. The secret of that smile has been lost.

The Cause and the Person

It was no longer possible to reply. In the light of the non-objectivity of his confession concerning the reasons for his forbearance, the non-objectivity of his attack naturally seemed more grave. And yet.... We discharged our task, everything now going off smoothly, impersonally, without difficulties of any sort and we took our leave. This was the last time that I saw Hersh at such close quarters.

Since then — not immediately, for then I did not want to recollect that image, but after the angel, whose nameless presence had at that time frightened the mother and me, had done his work — I have often thought over that occasion.

What, indeed, was Theodore Herzl's attitude towards the cause and the person? And how is it in general with these two, "cause" and "person?"

That to Herzl his cause was indissolubly bound up with his person — this fact

manifested itself clearly enough in his fight against Ahab in *Moby-Dick*, when he summoned his young men, who had sided with the other, to "stand our very backs to the world's side." Probably this is the case with most men who act in history. His fundamental view was certainly that there was little sense in discussing principles and methods, since in the final analysis everything depends not upon them, but upon the persons to whom is entrusted their realization and application, in other words: upon the person that uses them, and by means of them serves. Serves whom? Just the cause that is indelibly bound up with the person? We appear to be reasoning in a circle.

The Side of the People

But let us regard the problem from the other side, from the side of the people. Let us consider, for example, the concept of Max Weber according to whom genuine democracy consists of appointing a leader whom one trusts and following him as long as he discharges his duty; but if he fails to call him to account, to judge him, to depose him, indeed, to the gallows with him! The cause, therefore, is bound up with the person as long as his charisma, i.e., his power of leadership, to use Weber's term, proves effective. From this point of view we can understand Kierulff's attitude towards his critics: it is charismatic. This is why he does not say: "You are wrong, for matters stand thus and thus," but rather: "You are wrong, for you are not fit men to do this properly — you lack the charisma."

But is this concept right or wrong? It cannot be set aside by a cheap ideology composed of a mediocre politics and a mediocre morality. The "history of the world" so far attests to it. Only our hope for a different leadership and a different following, for a truly dialogical relationship between the two, contests it. In any case, the categories of the objective and the subjective, with which we are so familiar, do not in truth hold for the problem that has coaxed up to us.

The Man in History

But the flaneur with the finishing eyes! Is this not certainly a dreadful lack of objectivity? I do not know. Perhaps through the impression that his opponent had one, even if only one person who would take his part. Thus, Herl had been gripped by the question whether there might not be yet another reality, other than that of obvious world history — a reality hidden and powerless because it has not come into power; whether there might not be, therefore, men with a mission who have not been called to power and yet are, in essence, men who have been summoned; whether one's own significance has not been asserted and perhaps to the circumstances that separate the one class of men from the other; whether success is the only criterion, whether the unsuccessful man is not destined at times to gain a belated perhaps posthumous, perhaps even anonymous victory, which even history refuses to record; whether, indeed, when even this does not happen, an affirmation and a blessing is not spoken, nonetheless, to these abandoned ones, a word that confirms them, whether there does not exist a "dark" charisma. The man who acts in history does not allow himself to be overwhelmed by such questions, for if he did so, he would have to despair, indeed, and to withdraw; but the man

* The report of a 40-year-old Max Weber with a record in Mariann Weber's book Max Weber, P. 200.

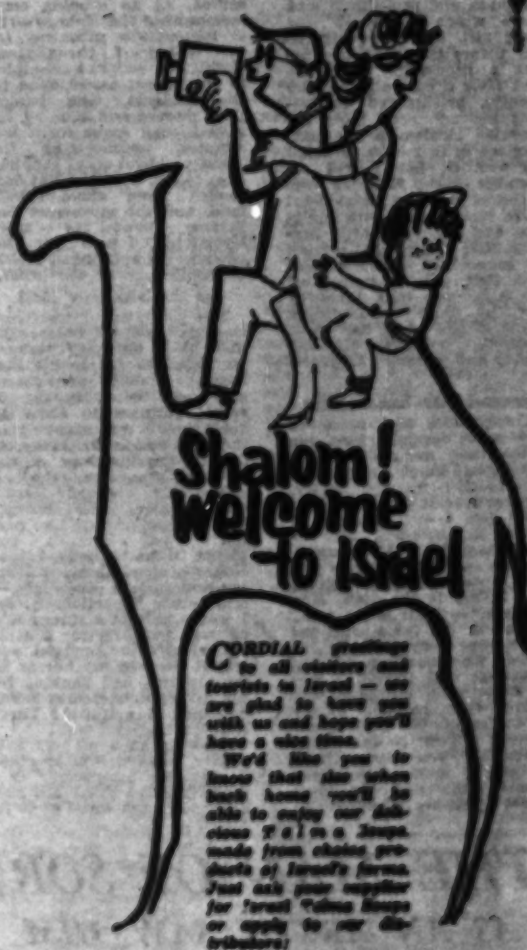
ments in which they touch him are the truly religious moments of his life.

And even though this question had not gripped him, was not Herin right, especially in the presence of his mother, to acknowledge the mothers? All dialectics of pro and con, the objective and the personal, must give way when love enters in and silently witnesses to life.

Translated by Dr. Maurice Friedman, from Martin Buber's "Anthropological Fragments" in "The Philosophy of Martin Buber," volume of "The Library of Living Philosophers," edited by Maurice Friedman and Paul A. Schilpp. (New York: Tudor Press Inc., 1948; W. W. Norton & Co., Inc.)



Herb greeting delegates at the North Congress.



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THEODOR HERZL—AS I

In the Eyes Of A Child

By Paula Arnold

WHEN Herzl died I was 18, and I had first met him eight years before, when I was a little girl. Yet after 40 years and more my memory of him is quite clear. His warm voice, one of his great assets, his marvellous presence, his grave way, never talking down even to the child, remain with me to this day.

He had the most beautiful manners, and probably it was these which captivated the little girl. He swept off his hat before me, he treated me like a grown-up. When we met after a first night in the theatre, he insisted on getting me my wrap from the crowded cloakroom and putting me in it. I have no head for clothes, but I still remember what that to me hallowed garment looked like!

He had a way with children, and when my little brother, five years old, refused to greet him, Herzl greeted him first, gravely taking off his hat, and only breaking out in that transforming smile of his when the child, abashed, whipped off his middy and mumbled his greeting.

Goose-Liver Sandwiches

Once Herzl had come to our house straight from his office, tired out and without having had lunch, as he readily admitted to my mother, who saw to it that he got a solid tea. I was allowed to serve it, including his favourite, goose-liver sandwiches. He ate quite a lot, and when he helped himself said "This is the 90th, Mrs. Kellner."—"This is the 14th," I was in the room with the grown-ups only because the maids were hanging up the washing; and though I was as quiet as a mouse, I was driven from paradise by my idol himself. He said to my father: "What a dear little housewife you have there, Kellner"; upon which my father, who had his ideas about praising children in

their face, said stolidly: "Yes, she's passable — and now, go off!"

We children never went to Herzl's house — because Mrs. Herzl did not allow her children to return visits. But when I was a little older I saw Herzl often at meetings, when he would come and sit at our table. In Vienna these smaller meetings were usually held in a hall with small tables, where refreshments were served. At an evening commemorating the Hebrew writer Smolenskin, after my father had made the address, Herzl, who was not scheduled to speak, was called upon by the students, who banged their glasses and shouted. He gave in and spoke for a few minutes, enumerating the latest practical steps that had been taken. "Zionism has descended from cloud-cuckoo-land, and the movement has become — shall I say — more terrestrial." I still see his gesture, his open hand slowly descending lower and lower.

At the Students' Ball

The last time I saw him was six months before he died, at a students' Hanukkah Ball. He sat in his box, looking terribly yellow and sick, and when begged to speak gestured to show he could not. I was standing in the hall beside Dr. Kokesch, one of the members of the Actions Committee who had vehemently opposed Herzl's Uganda plan. The students kept clapping in unison, myself nearly bursting my gloves, when I noticed that Kokesch stood there, glowering and furious. Teasingly — and rather impertinently, for I was a child of eighteen and he was over forty, I said: "Why don't you applaud, you traitor?" — To my horror he went purple and shaking his fist at the unconscious Herzl, he cried: "I a traitor? There sits the traitor!"

Looking back at this animosity I can well believe that it was this controversy that actually killed Herzl. His sick heart could not stand up to it.



Herzl with a group of Zionists in London. At his right is Israel Zangwill.

Winning the East End

By Israel Cohen

THE initial occasion when I saw Herzl was at the first public meeting that he addressed in London in 1894. He came to address the Jewish public in London because the exposition of his ideas in November, 1893, to the Maecenas, a gathering of intellectuals, had met with a lukewarm reception. The meeting took place on a warm Sunday afternoon, in July, at the Jewish Working Men's Club in the East End. The hall, which could hold only a few hundred, was packed to suffocation with a perspiring crowd, while thousands outside were unable to gain admittance. The great majority of the audience were natives of Russia, some of whom had come to England only recently, though all alike still had vivid memories of the Czarist persecution from which they had fled. There was a hubbub of animated conversation and all were keyed up to a high pitch of expectancy as they eagerly awaited the man who they believed would lead them back to the land of their forefathers. Their hopes were particularly fired by the al-

luring — but unfounded — announcement printed on the Yiddish posters, that Herzl had already spoken to the Sultan of Turkey. There was a storm of prolonged applause when they had their first glimpse of the tall, majestic figure as he emerged from the scenery on the platform, stepped forward to the table, and bowed his acknowledgments.

Imposing Presence

Herzl was at that time only a young man of thirty-six, but with his long, black, square-cut beard, his long, black frock-coat, his dignified mien and imposing presence, he not only looked older but seemed to have come from a different world. He spoke calmly, in a resonant voice, from a few notes in his hand, without the fluency that he later acquired; but as his language was the elegant German of an author it is doubtful whether many understood his words, though they grasped his meaning and were certainly under the spell of his personality.

After the first Zionist Congress in 1897 Herzl became a rather frequent visitor to London, and I was present at

three more meetings which he addressed. The first was at the Great Assembly Hall, in Whitechapel, in the autumn of 1898, when there was such a vast crowd that extra police had to be summoned to prevent people from attempting to force their way in after all parts of the hall were packed. The second was in the summer of 1899, at St. Martin's Town Hall, in the West End, when for the first time he read his speech, rather slowly, in English. The third occasion was at a reception given by the Zionist Federation at the Hotel Grand Central, in April, 1900.

After his speech various people were presented to him, among whom I had the honour of being included. I was introduced by Jacob de Haas, who acted as one of his trusted lieutenants. De Haas was then assistant-editor of the "Jewish World," which strongly supported the cause. I had been contributing to the "Jewish World" for a couple of years, so de Haas mentioned that I was a journalist. "Then we belong to the same profession," said Herzl flatteringly, as he shook hands with me. "You will find it full of difficulties and disappointments."

The Last Congress

The last time I saw Herzl was at the Sixth Zionist Congress in Basle, in August, 1903. It was his last Congress and a very stormy one. Herzl presided over the debate (for in his days the President of the Organization was also President of the Congress) with firmness and dignity.

Although Herzl was subjected to more frequent and more mordant attacks at that Congress than at any previous one, and although his heart was already affected, he nevertheless exercised remarkable self-control and gave a patient hearing even to complaints with which he should not have been troubled. For instance the press correspondents were dissatisfied with the arrangements made for their convenience and were particularly annoyed because many of their seats were occupied by pseudo-journalists who had managed to obtain press tickets. They therefore decided to send a deputation to Herzl in which I was included. He assured us of his sympathy, as he was a journalist himself, but asked for our indulgence in view of the circumstances; and he pacified and honoured us by agreeing to be photographed together with the group of journalists. That photograph has always had a place of honour on one of the walls in my study.

THE MAN OF SORROWS and THE SEER

AS AN ARTIST SAW HIM

By Hermann Struck

WHATEVER I have to say of Herzl, the unforgettable, I have tried to put into the several portraits which I have made of the physical man. I knew that my attempts have fallen short, for our leader was a man of superhuman beauty. And I confess freely that it was this divine gift of beauty which left the deepest and most enduring impress on my mind.

The Uncrowned King

The towering figure, informed by a marvellous harmoniousness which poured itself into all his movements, represented an ideal type. But I cannot believe that such amazing beauty was purely physical. The prince before whom Herzl appeared paid him involuntary homage, for they knew instinctively that here was an uncrowned King. If there is such a thing as kingliness of men and bearing, Herzl possessed it — and in a higher degree, I think, than William II, or Edward VII, or Alphonso of Spain.

This indescribable nobility of bearing, which was accom-

panied by that gentle condescension which is the mark of princes, cast a spell over those who came within range of his voice. I am genuinely sorry for those who did not know him personally.

The most consistent regal picture of Herzl which has formed in my mind has as its background Sheppard's Hotel in Cairo, in the days when, living there as the Grand Seigneur, he was conducting negotiations with the highest British and Egyptian authorities for the Telusianian plains. A staff of scientists composed his retinue. He granted audiences. He spoke in the name of our people as one born to the purple, and if the dignity of Jewry ever found a human symbol and representative, it was in him.

Regard for Beauty

The forces which had made him supremely beautiful had also woven into the texture of his being a conscious regard for all beauty. He had the artist's sensitiveness to appearance, and aesthetic consideration played a foremost role in all his preparations. Before the opening of a Congress the members of the



Portrait of Herzl — by Hermann Struck

Actions Committee were literally passed in review; Herzl insisted that in the matter of dress too they should express their sense of the dignity of the occasion. And the entrance of the leaders into the hall was timed perfectly, so that the maximum of effect might be produced. Yet it would be wrong to attribute this extreme care to a demagogic

instinct; it was the detailed expression of a high regard for appearances. The platform manner of Herzl was at the opposite pole from that of the demagogue: he was no popular orator; every sentence was carefully balanced; there was a rhythm in the thought as well as in the word. The audience was made to feel that no shallow enthusiasm moved him, but rigid logic, inexorable energy and an unshakable will to action based on sincerest conviction. Such elements, again, could express themselves only in the simplest and most exact — and therefore the most convincing phrases and words.

The Eyes of a Seer

The years passed over that proud, unbending head; cares and disappointments, the strain of an intolerably heavy responsibility, the pain of hope deferred and deferred again left on his face deep and expressive lines. But time, which entrenched itself on his face, had no power over his eyes. The face had become the face of a man of sorrows; his eyes had become the eyes of a seer.

Written in 1929 on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Herzl's death.

Dreyfus and 'The Jewish State'

By Carl Loeber

THERE are not many instances when the appearance of a book has proved to be a turning-point in history. Such, however, was the case with a little book called "Der Judenstaat" ("The Jewish State"), whose appearance in 1896 marked a turning-point in the history of the movement for the restoration of the Land of Israel to the people of Israel.

"The Jewish State" was written under the impact of the notorious Dreyfus Case. But this does not mean that Herzl suddenly discovered the Jewish problem through the Dreyfus trial, or that in his earlier life he entirely lacked interest in it. There is ample proof in Herzl's early writings to confirm what he wrote in the first chapter of his Diary, begun in 1895: "When did I first begin to think about the Jewish Question? Probably since it awakened." The question has persistently gnawed and tugged at me, tormented me, and made me very unhappy. In fact, I always came back to it whenever my own personal experience, sufferings and joy lifted me on to a higher plane of vision."

Seeking a Solution

In the thirteen years between 1883 and 1896 when he took his first step into Zionist activity by his first letter to Baron de Hirsch, he ran the whole gamut of conceptions regarding solutions to the Jewish problem; from absolute assimilation and submergence in the Gentile world, through baptism and intermarriage, to national resurrection by the return to Zion.

In October 1894, Herzl emphatically rejected the Zionist idea. In a review of Dumas' *Pennine de Chénou* he wrote: "Good Jew Daniel wants to find once again the home of his tribe and take his seat-

tered brethren home. But precisely such a Daniel is the one who knows that they cannot be helped by their historic home... And if the Jews should indeed return home, the next day they would discover that for many years they have not belonged together. They have been rooted for centuries in their homelands, nationalized, different from each other, although preserved in a similarity of character through the pressure exerted against them everywhere."

The Ghetto

But during that very month Herzl was sitting for the sculptor Samuel Friedrich Beer of Vienna. They discussed the growth of anti-Semitism in Austria: "The course of our conversation," Herzl writes in his Diary, "led us to observe how little it availed the Jew to be an artist and clean as regards money. The curse persists. We cannot get away from the Ghetto. I talked myself into a great heat, was still aglow when I left. With the swiftness of that dream in a water tub of the Arabian Nights there arose in me the outline of this play." And he wrote *Das Neue Ghetto* ("The New Ghetto") in three weeks.

While he was writing "The New Ghetto," the Dreyfus Affair commenced in France. Under the impact of the trial and the degradation of the condemned Jewish officer, accompanied as it was by the mob's outcry, "Death to the Jews," Herzl definitely lost the optimism he had felt with regard to the future of anti-Semitism in France, and his general belief that "the solution of the Jewish Problem can be expected by the gradual development of humanity towards tolerance."

And so he suddenly asked the Jewish philanthropist Baron Maurice de Hirsch for an opportunity to discuss the

Jewish problem with him. In the conversation which took place on June 2, 1896, and especially in Herzl's letter to Baron de Hirsch of June 2, his plan for the solution of the Jewish question was ready in general outline as regards both the aim and the ways and means of achieving it. It was the grandiose proposal of transplanting the Jewish masses to a land of their own, under a Jewish leadership which would take the conduct of the affairs of the Jewish people into its own hand. On the flash of the moment he had drawn up outlines of plans for preparing the masses for their emigration by re-education to dignity and love of work, of organizing the exodus and financing it and so on. In other words: the nucleus of *The Jewish State* was already in his mind.

The Zionist Idea

The very fact of his arriving at the Zionist idea is something exceptional. He had reached his maturity unburdened by a Jewish tradition or real knowledge of Jewish life. For him the Jewish Problem "arose" with the rise of anti-Semitism. It was this negative phenomenon which constantly troubled him, and he had no consolation in any living contact with the inner life of Jewry, with its religious and cultural values. Here lies the fundamental difference between Herzl and his predecessors (of whom he knew nothing before starting his Zionist phase), such as, for example, Leo Pinsker or even Moses Hess.

He was not always sure of himself. During his frantic work on "The Jewish State" some of his friends were worried about his health, and especially about his mental condition. He himself began to doubt his mental normality. He even wrote to Baron de Hirsch that he was

giving up the whole thing. "There is no helping the Jews for the time being. If someone were to show them the Promised Land they would treat him with contempt. They are disintegrated. And yet I know where salvation lies; in us! In our capital, in our labour, and in that special combination of the two which I have outlined to you. But we shall have to endure more insult, we shall have to be spat upon, despised, beaten, plundered and thrashed even more than till now before we become ripe for the idea... We have not yet reached the right degree of despair."

The Book Completed

This mood soon vanished again, and in the course of a short time his "Jewish State" was finished. Now pressure began to press on the part of some of his friends who tried to prevent publication because, they argued, the only result would be great damage to the Jewish cause. The editors of the "Neue Freie Presse" even used arguments of the paper's prestige and hints of financial ruin. However, he resisted this pressure and in particular was fully supported by Max Nordau, whom he had won over when he first divulged the plan to him.

The booklet appeared in 1896. It created a tremendous impression in both Jewish and non-Jewish circles. The press was generally unfavourable. The "Neue Freie Presse," of which he was the literary editor, kept silent about it and maintained this policy until Herzl's death. Many Jewish circles in Western Europe, secular as well as religious, expressed their strong opposition. Even among the *Hovevei Zion* there were grave doubts as to whether so clear an exposition of the final aims of the Movement would not



Theodor Herzl, author of 'Der Judenstaat'.

hurt the day-to-day work, small-scale immigration and colonization in Palestine which they had been conducting for a number of years. There were even doubts about the personal integrity of this unknown stranger, who suddenly tried to impose his revolutionary ideas.

But on the other hand, there were expressions of unparalleled enthusiasm on the part of leading Zionist personalities, societies and especially the youth and students in Eastern Europe and Vienna. People felt that there had appeared on the scene a man who was destined to raise the Movement from its powerlessness to the heights of realization. Leadership was offered to him from all sides. He received invitations from many parts of Europe where both masses and intellectuals were eager to hear his message.

And so the appearance of this small booklet inaugurated the new chapter in the history of the Movement, which fifty years later led to the creation of the State of Israel.

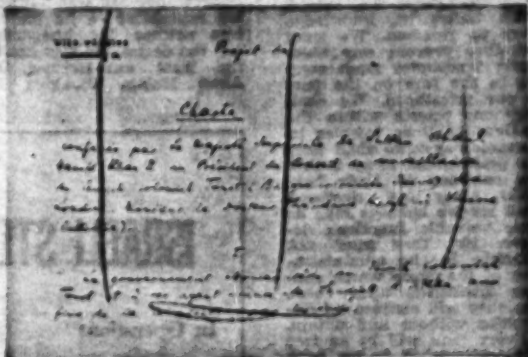
Which can only mean about the anti-Semitic Movement arose in Austria.

Extracts from Herzl's 'Der Judenstaat'

It depends on the Jews themselves whether this political pamphlet remains for the present a political romance. If the present generation is too dull to understand it rightly, a future, finer and a better generation will arise to understand it. The Jews who wish for a State shall have it, and they will deserve to have it.

DULL brains might, for instance, imagine that this exodus would be from civilized regions into the desert. That is not the case. It will be carried out in the midst of civilization. We shall not revert to a lower stage, we shall rise to a higher one. We shall not dwell in mud huts; we shall build new more beautiful and more modern houses, and possess them in safety. We shall not lose our acquired possessions; we shall realize them. We shall surrender our well-earned rights only for better ones. We shall not sacrifice our beloved customs; we shall find them again. We shall not leave our old home before the new one is prepared for us. Those only will depart who are sure thereby to improve their position; those who are now desperate will go first, after them the poor; next the prosperous, and, last of all, the wealthy.

OUR people should emigrate in groups of families and friends. But no man will be forced to join the particular group belonging to his former place of residence. Each will be able to journey in his chosen fashion as soon as he has settled his affairs. Seeing that each man will pay his own expenses by rail and boat, he will naturally travel by whatever class suits him best. Possibly there will even be no subdivision for



An example of Herzl's handwriting.

classes on board train and boat, so as to avoid making the poor feel their position too keenly during their long journey. Though we are not exactly organizing a pleasure trip, it is as well to keep them in good humour on the way.

None will travel in penury; on the other hand, all who desire to travel in luxurious ease will be able to follow their bent. Even under favourable circumstances, the movement may not touch certain classes of Jews for several years to come; the intervening period can therefore be employed in selecting the best modes of organizing the journeys. Those who are well off can travel in parties if they wish, taking their personal friends and connections with them. Jews, with the exception of the richest, have, after all, very little intercourse with Christians. In some countries their acquaintance with them is confined to a few spongers, borrowers, and dependents; of a better class of Christian they know nothing. The Ghetto continues

though its walls are broken down.

The middle classes will therefore make elaborate and careful preparations for departure. A group of travellers will be formed in each locality, large towns being divided into districts with a group in each district, who will communicate by means of representatives elected for the purpose. This division into districts need not be strictly adhered to; it is merely intended to alleviate the discomfort and home-sickness of the poor during their journey onwards. Everybody is free to travel either alone or attached to any local group he prefers. The conditions of travel—regulated according to classes—will apply to all alike.

The Company's housing agency will provide quarters for the poorest on their arrival. Later on, when more prosperous emigrants follow, their obvious need for lodgings on first landing will have to be supplied by hotels built by private enterprise. Some of these more prosperous co-

lonists will, indeed, have built their houses, before becoming permanent settlers, so that they will merely move from an old home into a new one.

PHILANTHROPIC institutions will be transferred by their local groups, each institution retaining "over there" the property of the same set of people for whom it was originally founded. I think the old buildings should not be sold, but rather devoted to the assistance of indigent Christians in the forsaken towns. The local groups will receive compensation by obtaining free building sites and every facility for reconstruction in the new country.

This transfer of philanthropic institutions will give another of those opportunities, which occur at different points of my scheme, for making an experiment in the service of humanity. Our present unsystematic private philanthropy does little good in proportion to the great expenditure it involves. But these institutions can and must form part of a system by which they will eventually supplement one another. In a new society these organizations can be evolved out of our modern consciousness, and may be based on all previous social experiments. This matter is of great importance to us, on account of our large number of paupers. The weaker characters among us, discouraged by external pressure, spoil by the soft-hearted charity of our rich men, easily sink until they take to begging.

The Society, supported by the local groups, will give greatest attention to popular education with regard to this particular. It will create a fruitful soil for many powers which now wither uselessly away. Whoever shows a ge-

nuine desire to work will be suitably employed. Beggars will not be endured. Whoever refuses to do anything as a free man will be sent to the workhouse.

IT is necessary to illustrate the phenomenon of multitudes, and their concentration on a particular spot by references to places of pilgrimage.

I do not want to hurt anyone's religious sensibility by words which might be wrongly interpreted.

I shall merely refer quite briefly to the Mohammedan pilgrimages to Mecca, the Catholic pilgrimages to Lourdes, to the holy Rock at Trier, and to many other spots where men return comforted by their faith. Thus we shall also create a centre for the deep religious needs of our people. Our ministers will understand us first, and will be with us in this.

We shall let every man find salvation "over there" in his own particular way. Above and before all we shall make room for the immortal band of our Friththekers, who are continually making new conquests for humanity.

No more force will be exercised on any one than is necessary for the preservation of the State and order; and the requisite force will not be arbitrarily defined by one or more shifting authorities; it will be fixed by iron laws.

THERE are made mistakes in nations abroad concerning Jews, then concerning any other people. And we have become so depressed and discouraged by our historic sufferings that we ourselves repeat and believe these mistakes. One of them is that we have an immediate loss of business. Now it is well (continued on Page 12)

RICH RECORD PRESERVED AT ZIONIST ARCHIVES

By Joseph Winkert

EVERY visitor to the Zionist Central Archives in Jerusalem is taken to the overflowing safe containing the papers of Theodor Herzl. The collection went through many tribulations before finally reaching Jerusalem in 1907. Begun by Herzl himself, it was first systematically arranged by his friend and helper Professor Leon Kellner, and the young physician, Erwin Rosenberg, a former editor of "Die Welt," the official Zionist weekly. After Herzl's widow died in 1907, the collection was maintained by another friend of Herzl's who was also one of his executors, Johann Krennstein, the engineer who founded the Jewish National Fund. He kept it for a number of years, first in his electric bulb factory and later in his Vienna home.

Part of the collection found its way after Herzl's death to David Wolfsohn, his closest friend who succeeded him as President of the Zionist Organization and in this capacity had to have access to many of the political documents.

The archive was reorganized and catalogued in the early thirties on the initiative of Dr. Alex Bein, who was then preparing his biography of Herzl and has since devoted considerable efforts to filling in and expanding the archive. He was assisted by the late Dr. Tule Nussimbaum, the eminent researcher on Herzl who was murdered by the Nazis, and by Krennstein's secretary, Mrs. Rybar.

Brought to Jerusalem in the spring of 1907, less than a year before Herzl's invasion of Austria, Moritz Reichenthal (a relative of Herzl's wife and one of his executors) brought the archive to Jerusalem, where it greatly expanded over the years through the systematic collection of relevant documents.

The richness and variety of the archive are immediately apparent. Letters from the entourage of the German Kaiser, from British Foreign Secretaries, Russian Foreign Ministers and officials of the Sultan lie side by side with notebooks listing Herzl's household even-

ing, beginning with his rent and ending with the modest hire of the Viennese chimney-sweep, and the not inconsiderable toilette expenses of his wife.

Herzl's attention to detail is obvious in all his documents. It was he who saw to it that all the delegates to the first Zionist Congress attended the evening sessions in formal dress. Although not officially the editor of "Die Welt," which was established with his own funds in 1907, scarcely a line in the paper escaped his attention, and he was in charge of several sections. In this domain Herzl's own collection was very substantially enlarged by Dr. Rosenberg, who got together a great many slips of paper with Herzl's editorial corrections on them, as well as the manuscripts of a large part of his articles, and presented them to the Zionist Archives 55 years later.

Methodical Collection

In addition to his other activities, Herzl was the literary editor of and a regular contributor to the important Viennese daily, the "Neue Freie Presse." He had to meet deadlines with his feuilletons, and he never missed one. Nor could his political agents in Turkey complain that they did not get their fat "bakshish" from him on time — witness the many receipts from them in the archive. This methodicalness extended to every piece of paper Herzl ever wrote or received, from the small carpenter's bill to a letter from the Russian Foreign Minister.

The first file in the archive consists of Herzl's private papers, most of which he himself kept in a little leather case. His birth certificate is there, as well as his matriculation certificate, his LL.D. diploma from the University of Vienna, an invitation to his bar-mitzva, congratulatory telegrams, an invitation to his wedding, notices from the Austro-Hungarian Army declaring him physically unfit for military service and rejecting his application for a year's service as a volunteer.

The next box contains his early diaries and travel notes, covering the years

1882-1886. They already reveal the unusual sensitivity of young Herzl to literature, art, landscape and human beings. His book reviews are critical, comprehensive and to the point; his descriptions of his travels from Vienna to London and from the Hague to Naples are full of life, colour and feeling. They generally contain the germs of ideas for stories, feuilletons and plays in rough first draft. A look at a museum picture gives birth to a feuilleton saturated with a profound sense of observation of human beings; a conversation overheard in a railroad train — a scene for a play; a walk through a busy country fair — another feuilleton, in a melancholy mood.

The most important of the diaries from this period is preserved in this archive in photostat only. It is the diary to which Herzl, then in his twenties, confided his perplexities and his inner struggles. Professor Kellner lent the original to Herzl's unfortunate son Hans, and after Hans' suicide the diary was sold to YIVO.

The Zionist Diaries

The next set of files in the archive are Herzl's Zionist diaries. His accounts of his first Zionist activities, 18 notebooks bound in cardboard, are as fascinating as a novel. Written neatly in the violet ink he loved, the first of these notebooks is entitled "Die Judensache," (roughly to be translated as "The Jewish Subject.") It does not confine itself to summaries of events alone, but contains drafts and redrafts of important political letters and other notes.

Smaller files contain related material such as the drafts of Herzl's letters. Beginning with his requests to newspapers to publish his first literary efforts and a sharp letter to the Albia student society submitting his resignation in view of its tendencies to anti-Semitism, the letters range all the way to his important Zionist letters.

Letters to His Parents

A detailed supplement to Herzl's travel diaries are the letters he wrote home to his parents. Here the descriptions of places and people are interspersed with more personal notes; a request to his father for a little more cash, a query about the publication of one of his feuilletons, an assurance to his mother that her only son is eating well and putting on weight.

The next five boxes are filled to overflowing with literary drafts, from Herzl's school compositions and his work for the WIR literary society, which he founded at the age of 14, to his last play, "Solon in Lydia." All of his 20-odd plays are here, some of them in two or three versions, along with scores of slips of paper on which he had jotted down fragments of ideas. This was presumably the reason why he went over these envelopes periodically, writing on them "Looked over on (date)" or "Literary efforts of the years..."

Letters from theatrical agents, directors, agents and actors attest to Herzl's many contacts with the literary and stage world of Vienna, Berlin and Prague, the three centres of German culture.

The next series of files is devoted to Herzl's continuous Zionist activity over the years. One need only mention a set of notes on the Jewish question from his pre-Zionist days; his notes for his first talk with Baron Hirsch, the first influential personality to whom he attempted to present his ideas as a practical solution of



Photographed at his desk, with his mother.

the Jewish problem; parts of "the Jewish State" in draft form, his speech to the Rothschilds which constituted the first draft of the book; and the handwritten texts of a number of his Zionist speeches and articles.

His manuscript of "Altneuland" is in a file by itself, complete with entries of the dates on which he interrupted it and picked it up again (the book was begun in 1899 and completed in 1902) together with a plethora of notes and studies that assisted him in writing the novel.

Correspondence

The multifarious administrative work which the direction and consolidation of the Zionist movement implied revolved mainly about Herzl himself, and tens of thousands of letters from individuals and organizations were forwarded to him. They are not all in his private archive; many of them may be found in the files of the Central Zionist Bureau in Vienna, assembled today in another section of the Zionist Archives in Jerusalem. This bureau, founded in 1897, was formally authorized by the First Zionist Congress to direct the organizing work of the Zionist movement. It was the seat of the Zionist Executive which was headed by Herzl; it exchanged letters with Zionist organizations all over the world, and prepared congresses and conferences. The Herzl Archive contains hundreds of resolutions of support for the Zionist programme that came in from everywhere, as well as many of the letters that he answered himself, most of those he passed on to the Bureau often specifying on the back or in the margin how they should be dealt with, are now housed in the Bureau files. This does not include his political correspondence, which is almost entirely in the Herzl archive. To give the visitor an idea of the scope of this correspondence, the huge files in which it was divided into sections by country, campaign or type of activity have been preserved.

The location of a large number of documents dealing mainly with negotiations with Germany, was unknown until six years ago, when the contents of a safe deposit box kept in the Anglo-Palestine Bank in London in the name of Joseph Cowen, one of Herzl's chief supporters in England, came to light. They were personally deposited in the safe by Herzl in order to keep them secret from his generation. They include the official documents connected with Herzl's visit to this country

for negotiations with the German Kaiser, such as letters from the Grand-Duke of Baden and Count Philip Eulenburg, the German Ambassador to Vienna, officially promising the Kaiser's support in Herzl's intervention with the Sultan, as well as the German Emperor's protection for the Jewish settlements in Palestine. The safe also contains the protocols of various secret discussions, such as those concerning the British scheme, as well as letters, reports and receipts for payments to political agents. The A.P.B. building was bombed during the London blitz; the documents were dried up and yellowed, and partly turned to ash by the fire, and a good deal of work will be required to preserve them for posterity.

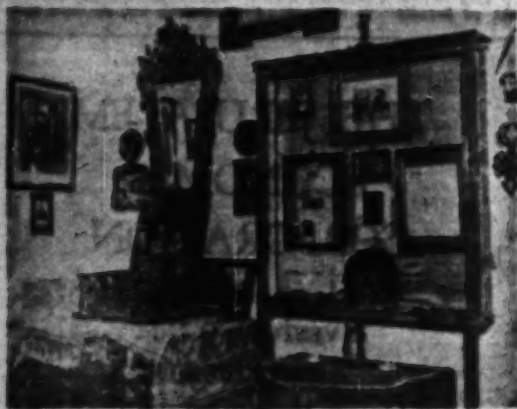
All this is far from giving an idea of the wealth and variety of Herzl's general correspondence, which fills dozens of additional files. There is a letter from two pioneers of aviation who ask for favourable publicity in his feuilletons for their inventions; there are requests from dozens of young writers asking him, as literary editor of the "Neue Freie Presse," to publish their works. Actors and actresses wrote to Herzl about his plays; the Prime Minister of Austria requested his advice on political affairs; a man who believed himself the Messiah sent him letters covering dozens of pages.

Only Copies

Herzl had no full-time secretary. Most of his replies were written by hand, which also accounts for the fact that copies were seldom made. In order to fill out this 'lacuna' a continuous effort has been made to get the originals together by collecting them from various private archives and collections. These endeavours are still going on and on the whole the response has been favourable.

The staff of the Zionist Archives in Jerusalem, and especially Dr. Bein, have invested years of devoted work in putting all this invaluable material in order, but the condition in which it is kept leaves a great deal to be desired if compared with the way other countries take care of similar national historical treasures. The Herzl archive and the archive of the Zionist movement as a whole have not yet been properly housed. The Zionist Executive recently appointed a commission to look into the matter and it is hoped that this body will recommend the erection of a special building for the archives, in which a fitting place will also be provided for the papers of the founder of the movement.

HERZL IN JERUSALEM



As you near Jerusalem's Old City, just a little way from the danger signs and the ruins of the fighting, there stands a little two-story house, nearly 70 years old, where Herzl stayed before his meeting with the Kaiser in 1900.

Near the entrance, a small sign shows the way "To Herzl's room," carefully preserved by the Stern family, which has occupied the house since it was built. Inside the room with its old furniture, the walls are lin-

ed with framed pictures, manuscripts and other mementoes.

The family retells the stories of Grandmother Yehudit, Herzl's host during his stay.

On the day he was due to meet Kaiser Wilhelm, Herzl was particularly nervous. He got up very early, refused to admit anyone except his close friends — Dr. Bodenheimer, Dr. Wolfsohn and Schneurer — and in his excitement had to be reminded by the lady of the house that he had not put on his necktie.

YEHUDA BISHENSTARK

REMEMBER HIM

Some Personal Reminiscences

Herzl's Visit to Vilna

By Baruch Zecherman

JEWISH Vilna certainly deserved its reputation as "the Jerusalem of Lithuania." Luminaries and sages dwelled in its midst generation after generation.

At the beginning of this century, there were two luminaries in the forefront of the Jewish community — Reb Shlomo Dayan and Reb Haim Oser Gradjenski. While the community was largely orthodox, the progressive movements had already attained a position of some importance. And Vilna's influence, both orthodox and progressive, made itself strongly felt in virtually the whole spiritual life of Russian Jewry.

Such was Jewish Vilna when Dr. Herzl visited the city.

I was then a 18-year-old lad, studying the Talmud "on my own" at the cobbler's synagogue on the "Jewish Street." I also belonged to a group of a few score youths of my own age or a little older than myself, to whom Reb Haim Oser would periodically lecture at his synagogue. A typical geshem student, I had but the haziest notion of what was going on in the outside world. Quite by chance I had heard of Herzl's name a few weeks before his coming to Vilna. It was mentioned in a strictly Jewish orthodox house — one of those conservative homes obsessed with the dread fear that Zionism would prove the death of religion. The occasion is worth recalling.

The head of the family was a self-styled opponent of Zionism. But he had a son who was a Zionist and who had put up a picture of Herzl. The son was away at the time. This was on a Sabbath evening after the "third Sabbath meal." Guests had been invited, and the talk turned to Zionism. Among the company were several extreme anti-Zionists. One of them reproached our host for allowing a picture of "that man" — pointing to Herzl's portrait — to be displayed on the wall. The host, well aware that Jews always referred to Jesus as "that man," retorted: "Listen, don't speak about him in that fashion. He is a different matter."

Why he merited more consideration than other Zionist leaders, whose names — banded about contemptuously — I then heard for the first time, was a mystery to me, which was not cleared up until Dr. Herzl himself appeared in Vilna.

Mass Enthusiasm

I learned of his coming two days before he was due. The news was given to me by the then manager of the Vilna office of the Warsaw Yiddish daily "Der Fraind." I had no inkling of the political objectives which took Dr. Herzl to St. Petersburg. But my curiosity was greatly aroused. At the synagogue where I studied I passed the tidings on to one of the cobblers, Ephraim. A diminutive Jew of fiery temperament, he was all agog. He and I decided that one way or another we must get to see Herzl.

On the day of his arrival we found out at what hotel he was staying. Two receptions were being organized in his honor — one on behalf of the whole community, on the premises of the charitable organization Tzedakah Gedolah; and the other by the Vilna Zionists at Ben-Yaacov's country villa. We

went and posted ourselves outside his hotel to wait for him to emerge. Thousands of Jews had gathered there, in a mood of exalted expectation.

A stream of distinguished visitors began to reach the hotel — representatives of the Jewish communities of Minsk, Kovno and other towns, side by side with the local notables. They were all wearing top-hats — then a rare sight in Vilna. Even the cab-drivers and their horses were decked out in holiday finery. Finally the magnificent figure of Herzl emerged from the doorway. A gasp of admiration went up from the multitude. He dominated the scene. Especially impressive was the radiance of his eyes — the eyes of a visionary. He seemed moved. It was perhaps the first time that he had seen such a mighty throng of Eastern European Jews so vibrant with enthusiasm. The procession moved off. At this point, a little incident occurred which electrified the crowd.

Gift of Torah

My companion, Ephraim the cobbler, ran up to Herzl's open carriage and flung himself upon one of the rear wheels with such force that the horses stopped in their tracks. Herzl stood up to see what was happening. Whereupon Ephraim cried out like a creature possessed:

"David the King of Israel, is living!"

And the whole assembly shouted as one man: "Hurrah!"

We ran after Herzl's carriage and squeezed into the Tzedakah Gedolah building. The climax of the reception came when Reb Shlomo Dayan raised his hands and blessed Herzl who held a small Torah scroll bestowed upon him by the Vilna community as a memento of his visit. I dare not, with my limited descriptive powers, even try to convey the sanctity of that image, which remains for every engraver in my memory. I merely wish in simple words to deliver myself of some haunting impressions.

Awe-Inspiring Picture

Reb Shlomo's face was pale — as snow white as his rounded beard. It was as if the ocean of the Talmud, in which he had immersed himself all his life, had imparted to him an alabaster purity aglow with saintliness and had drained every drop of blood from his being. If you contrast that countenance with the familiar one of Herzl, with his long black beard, with the dark, the glowing, the incomparable eyes. If you visualize the Torah scroll, the most sacred possession of the Jewish people, and the upraised hands of Reb Shlomo, blessing Herzl. If you add the thousands of eyes of Vilna Jews focused on these two figures. Then you may have a faint idea of the awe-inspiring picture.

I am incapable of depicting the effect on the onlookers. Even at the time I was unable quite to grasp what was going on in my own heart. Only years later, after I had delved deeper into our wondrous history, did I come to realize that I was then a tiny drop in the river of life whose name is "Jewish people;" that Vilna Jewry was privileged to partake of a lofty spiritual upsurge, stemming from the will to redemption that is one of the intrinsic characteristics of this extraordinary people. Only later was I able to fit that Vilna day into the mo-

saic of our people's majestic experiences. Still, on that summer day in 1902 I was a living part of it all — without interpretations, without my seeking to attach any labels to it. The impact it made upon me was such that my whole outlook was thenceforth changed. A new restlessness took hold of me; the spiritual ground on which I had hitherto stood, gave way.

Role in History

Often, when I think back upon that visit of Herzl's to Vilna, and try to place it in the mosaic of our marvellous history, the question arises in my mind whether Herzl himself had a clear view of the role assigned to him by Jewish history. I am inclined to think that he did not. If I am correct, this would not diminish the epic figure of Herzl, but rather enhance it. When I recall the atmosphere of sanctity which his visit to Vilna produced; when I remember how the Jewish multitude was electrified by Herzl; what a transfiguration came over all classes of Jewish society; what legend-



Herzl in Vilna

ary tales sprang up; when I consider what a decisive influence his presence had upon myself — and I am sure there were hundreds of other youths in Vilna who were similarly affected — then I am bound to reach the conclusion that Herzl could not possibly have conceived the sum-total effect of

his appearance in Vilna. What is true of this single episode, applies even more forcefully to his whole career. I take it that great men who make history can never know the full significance of their own role in the inexorable process of human development which goes by the name of history.

Rehovot and the Kaiser

By Dr. S. Louis-Epstein

THEODOR Herzl visited Rehovot in 1902 on his way to Jerusalem. He was a guest at our home and I can well recall all the frantic preparations for his visit. The colonists worked feverishly making arches of spruce, decorating them with streamers and blue and white banners. A holiday spirit prevailed in expectation of the famous and honored guest.

Upon his arrival Herzl was met at the borders of Rehovot by a group of colonists led by "Lazar" Margolin, who later became the colonel commanding the Jewish Battalion in the First World War. Dr. Herzl stepped out of his carriage, while horses were galloping back and forth, and was introduced to the leader and the riders. My sister Miriam — who was twelve years old — presented him with a bouquet of flowers. She told me afterwards that her knees were shaking as she said the carefully rehearsed words of greeting on behalf of the children in the colony. She added that she was so nervous that she was lucky that she did not drop the flowers.

The entire population gave Dr. Herzl an enthusiastic welcome. His face shone as he walked among the people on the unaved, dusty road greeting and patting the children; he went up the main street (now Rehov Herzl) to our home where he, his party and dignitaries were guests for lunch. It was a simple meal — my mother had prepared everything herself. After lunch Dr. Herzl stepped out on our porch and spoke to the people. He won the hearts of all who heard him. His dignified and princely appearance left an indelible impression.

At Mikveh Israel

A dramatic moment took place at the gate to Mikveh Israel where a welcome was tendered to Kaiser William and the Emperor. We children (I was also at the time) gathered to watch, having managed to get over from Rehovot by walking or getting lifts on hay-wagons. Representatives of the Jewish Communities and students of the Agricultural School were gathered to give honor to the illustrious guests. No attention was paid to the tall bearded man leaning against

a plough some distance away. At this ceremony the Kaiser was presented with a Bible on parchment encased in a scroll of silver filigree. The Kaiser answered with a few words and then gave the signal to move on. The Emperor stirred her horse and took the lead. The Kaiser, who was dressed as a crusader, turned to wave good-bye. Suddenly he spotted Herzl and stopped his horse — which pranced a bit before it was brought under control. He greeted Herzl heartily and at the same time signalled the

Emperor to return. When she approached, the Kaiser said: "Look whom we have here." They conversed for a short time and the conversation ended with the Kaiser remarking "Der Wienerer." We will meet in Jerusalem. This meeting not only amazed and delighted the large gathering but had its historic significance as it helped to enthronize Herzl in the hearts of the people.

Our little house in Rehovot, by the way, is still standing and is now used by the municipality administration.

VISIONARY

(Continued from Page 2)

just because he came from a different environment that he attempted what others would not have dared to attempt. He over-simplified the issue. He thought that on one side there were rich Jews — and, on the other, Turkish officials who took money. Thus the problem was simple: one would offer certain advantages to the Turkish Government and the Sultan, the rich Jews would do certain things for them, and this would bring the poor Jews to Palestine. Herzl's first aim, therefore, was to get in touch with the Turkish Government and to obtain from them a Jewish State, or, as he put it, a Charter. He carried on lengthy negotiations, direct and indirect, in person, and through agents who were not always reliable. Herzl trusted people and was very often disappointed. And, as was usual with the Turks, they said neither yes nor no, but kept on dragging out the whole affair. At the First Congress, the Second, the Third, it was reported that a step forward had been made. Naturally there were sceptics and I admit that, although I was still a very young man, I had little confidence in the Sultan or in the conciliatory generosity of the rich Jews, who were to give the Sultan money to help poor Jews to go to Palestine.

Herzl trod many thorny paths, experienced countless losses and disappointments before he — to use his own words — came up against a stone wall. It was these disappointments that led to what is usually called the Uganda project. Herzl, as he himself said, had not time to wait for possible help from after

the burning issue of Jewish persecution in Eastern Europe. The Kishinev pogrom had broken out and the rush of Jewish emigration overseas had begun. A place had to be found for hundreds of thousands of Jews. Here again, Herzl's solution shined forth. He did not realize that, even if the Uganda project, approved by the Congress, had lengthy preparations, would still have been necessary to make Uganda capable of absorbing the immigrants. The ideas of Herzl and his friends were theoretical and rather naive. Here was a country — the British Government had offered it to us. All that remained to be done was to take it, and then the Jews would come and start a new life there. The Uganda project collapsed. A national vote was taken at the Sixth Congress on it, where everybody had to say yes or no. Every yes or no had like a hammer-blow, as if the destiny of the Jewish people were being beaten out.

Herzl saw that the Congress was divided into two camps. When the delegates from Kishinev said no, his handsome face went white. I think that it was at this moment that he realized for the first time the emotional connection between Palestine and the Jewish people. Herzl came to those who had said no, and said: "I cannot understand it. They have the rage roared their noes, and yet they refuse to emigrate to Uganda." I am convinced that it was when he heard the answer of those who had said no that he really became a Zionist.

Herzlian Nationalism — In the Diaspora

By Arish Tartakower

It may sound like a paradox, but it nevertheless is historically true that the greatest representative of the "Rejection of the Diaspora" in modern Jewish history at the same time became if not the founder then at least one of the fathers of Jewish nationalism in the Diaspora.

Herzl without doubt deserves to be called the foremost representative of the "Rejection of the Diaspora" not only because he founded the movement which finally brought about the establishment of the Jewish National Home, but because he was the strongest and consequently the most influential formulation of the anomaly of Jewish existence as a homeless people. Of the three personalities who are usually cited as the founders of Zionism, one, Moses Haim, was hardly concerned with the problems of the Diaspora as such. His "Rome and Jerusalem" was the expression of the faith that just as Rome was being reestablished as the great centre of human civilization, so could Jerusalem — which generations before had given humanity the foundations of culture in the deepest sense of this word: but apart from that the "Rejection of the Diaspora" did not really play any significant role in his philosophy. Not so Pinsker who, like Herzl later, adopted the Zionist ideology under the impact of a brutal outbreak of anti-Semitism and, again like Herzl, reached the conclusion that the homelessness of the Jewish people was the real reason for its sufferings and putting an end to it might be the only possible

solution to the Jewish problem. The difference, however, between him and Herzl — which led to Herzl's victory in theory as well as in practice — was that whereas Pinsker's strength was evident only in the diagnosis of the anomaly undermining the very foundations of Jewish existence, Herzl was equally great in diagnosing the malady and in prescribing the cure. His "Negation of the Diaspora" was complete: from the Diaspora to the establishment of the Jewish State.

Conquest of Communities
Now, therefore, can it be explained that the same man who succeeded in brilliantly formulating the hopelessness of Jewish life in the Diaspora and the ways of overcoming it, at the same time contributed so much towards the idea of struggle for Jewish survival and especially of Jewish organization in the Diaspora? The explanation in all probability may be the same as with regard to a few other outstanding traits of Herzl's personality, such as, especially, his almost prophetic attachment to the cause of social progress (manifested, *inter alia*, in the "Jewish State") and to the cause of peace in the world. One idea underlies all these apparently differing tendencies, namely that nationalism in its deepest sense (unfortunately too frequently forgotten in the present century) means not only love of one's people but at the same time the solidarity of all nations in a common struggle for the Kingdom of God, and that within the limits of this struggle all interests of a nation are to be protected as

long as they are morally justifiable.

The assumption is frequently made that Herzl's call for the "Conquest of the Communities" issued in 1894 was the decisive step in his "Diaspora policy." This assumption is wrong. In the first place this call was really prompted by Zionist interests. The Jewish communities at that time, especially those in Western Europe, were mostly led by assimilationists, who did their utmost to kill Zionism from the very beginning, conducting their fight with calumnies, denunciations and other dishonest practices. It was, therefore, a Zionist duty to endeavour to eliminate such enemies and just as Herzl condemned the "Protector" — who opposed Zionism allegedly in the name of religious interests — so he called upon the followers of the Jewish national renaissance to get rid of the assimilationist communal leaders. Not less important, however, is another argument, namely that the foundations of Jewish nationalism had already been laid by Herzl in his famous address at the First Zionist Congress when he defined Zionism as the return of the Jews to Judaism even before their return to the Jewish land. There were — and still are — many explanations of this statement, one of them being that he was mainly referring to an organizational condition of the realization of Zionism. An explanation, however, like this can hardly be correct: it is in contradiction to both the wording and the spirit of the sentence. Return to Judaism may mean either

return to Jewish culture and consciousness, or to Jewish national unity stressed by Herzl at the same time in another famous statement — "We are a people — one people." Both explanations point to a Jewish nationalism which cannot be limited to one practical purpose, be it even such a tremendous one as the establishment of the Jewish National Home. In the first sense, return to Judaism means Jewish spiritual reconstruction; in the second, the proclamation of a principle which is to serve as the basis of an organization of the Jewish people for all purposes related to its survival.

Fight Against Assimilation

On this basis, we may now return to the idea of the "conquest of the communities." Even if the assumption is correct that he meant, in the first place, the elimination of the assimilationist leadership in order to stop their fight against Zionism, the results of the conquest must be more far-reaching. A community in Zionist hands becomes necessarily an instrument of a return to Judaism whether in the first or in the second sense mentioned above or in both: it becomes the "Juedische Volksgemeinde" ("The Jewish People's Community") the idea for which was proclaimed by Zionists in Germany and in Eastern Europe a few years later although for a certain period of time it was also an instrument in the hands of non-Zionist or even anti-Zionist groups and parties.

Such were the deep foundations of Jewish nationalism laid by Herzl. Preoccupied

with the desperate struggle for the "charter" to be obtained from the corrupt and suspicious Turkish Government, and with the difficult task of building the Zionist organization and creating its various instruments as well as struggling hard to secure a *Nochizy* ("night asylum") for the persecuted Jews of Eastern Europe, he could hardly find the necessary physical forces to develop on such foundations a system of Diaspora nationalism comparable with Zionist ideology in the strict sense of this word. This was accomplished by others, following his footsteps. It was the consequence of this fundamental approach that the idea that the struggle for Jewish rights in the Diaspora was an instrument of Zionist propaganda quickly disappeared. Instead, the Helsingfors Programme of the Russian Zionists and the Cracow programme of the Austrian Zionists adopted the call for a return to Judaism and for "conquest of the communities" as a basis of Jewish national policy to be conducted on its own merits, although in closest cooperation with the Zionist practical work.

Forerunner of W.J.C.

From this attitude the road inevitably led to the Committee of Jewish Delegations at the Peace Conference after World War I and finally to the idea and the reality of the World Jewish Congress. This was the path of development for Jewish nationalism; and it will hardly be inaccurate, whether from the historical or the logical point of view, to call it Herzlian nationalism.

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HERZL—ARCHITECT OF BALFOUR DECLARATION

By Oscar Rabinowitz

IN November 1897 Herzl wrote in the London "Daily Chronicle": "I do not know whether Lord Salisbury (the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary) has found time in the pressure of his work to acquaint himself yet with the subject (of Zionism) which cannot be without interest to Great Britain. Whether it will be a Tory or a Whig who will undertake to solve, not only the Jewish problem, but also part of the Oriental question, he will perform a deed of great statesmanship, and he can be sure that the world, insofar as it is civilized, will follow his words and actions with interest, possibly with admiration."

Precisely twenty years later a British coalition Government of Tories and Whigs issued the Balfour Declaration, one of the historical milestones on the road to the establishment of the State of Israel. Another of Herzl's prophecies has thus been fulfilled. But it was not only in his vision that he foresaw England's important role in the re-establishment of the Jewish nation in Palestine, he actually and practically laid in England the foundations upon which the great Zionist leaders of the second generation were able to attain the Balfour Declaration thirteen years after Herzl's death. Indeed, he was the architect of that Declaration, in the sense of Aristotle's conception that the architect, conceiving the original idea and blessed with a reasoned capacity to create, is the prime causal factor.

Concentration on England
Having from the outset believed in Britain's final assistance in the attainment of the Zionist goal, Herzl set out to prepare the ground for this assistance. His literary as well as propaganda efforts, ably supported by a group of ardent enthusiasts, were from the very first concentrated on England more than on any other country. Within a short period of time Zionism, the Zionist idea and Theodore Herzl had become terms commonly known and used in England among Jews and non-Jews alike. By 1900 Herzl felt the time ripe for a further leap forward and convened the Fourth Zionist Congress in London. The results lived up to his expectations. The greatly enhanced sympathies were not lost. Six weeks later, during the General Election, every Parliamentary candidate was asked in a circular for his views on Zionism; 143 replies were positive. The political importance of this first move into the internal British political world is the more significant as it was during the lifetime of this Parliament that Herzl's official negotiations with the British Government took place (1902-1904); and that this was the Parliament in the world that discussed a Zionist issue (the Jewish settlement in East Africa) in a special debate on June 20, 1904.

The Royal Commission

In May 1902 Herzl testified before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration. "That fact alone," wrote Nahum Sokolow in his "History of Zionism," sufficiently indicates that the title of Zionism to a voice on a question affecting large masses of Jews was accepted in England, even in those early days of the movement, as a matter of course. Herzl's testimony formed part of the Commission's "Report," submitted in August 1903 to Parliament, and thus represents the first comprehensive exposition of the Jewish question as assessed by Zionism in an official Government publication. Five months after this testimony Herzl opened direct negotiations with the British Government with regard to the establishment of Jewish autonomous settle-



Lord Balfour

ments first in the Sinai Peninsula and later, when this proved unworkable, in East Africa. This scheme, too, failed. But meanwhile Herzl had achieved his principal political aim: he had involved the British Government in official negotiations with the elected representative of Jewry and thus established the legal address of the Jewish people.

The Path to the Declaration
These results and the official recognition by the British Government laid the foundations for Britain's pro-Zionist attitude leading to the Balfour Declaration. Herzl's method became a pattern for subsequent Zionist leaders in their dealings with the London authorities. Even the draft charter submitted by Herzl to the Balfour Government in 1903 was largely used for the final memorandum submitted to the British Government by the Zionist Organization in 1914.

In addition to the great propaganda successes and political achievements, another aspect of Herzl's preparatory work in England

is of no lesser significance—some of the great British leaders with whom contact had been established in his time, were later instrumental in bringing about the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. Arthur James Balfour headed the Government which negotiated with Herzl. Lloyd George, acting for Herzl as lawyer, prepared the draft charter for submission to the Government in 1902. Fourteen years later Lloyd George was Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary of the Government which issued the Balfour Declaration. Lord Milner, British High Commissioner in South Africa, was won over in the Herzl era for Zionism (the Sixth Zionist Congress in 1903 rose to thank him enthusiastically for his assistance), and he was chairman of the Government's committee which in 1917 drafted the Balfour Declaration. Most useful for the Zionist cause in 1914 and 1917 were Lord Cromer, who as Britain's representative in Cairo had conducted the Sinai scheme negotiations with Herzl, Greenberg, Goldsmid etc., and Henry Wickham Steed, editor of the "Times," who had known and admired Herzl since they had met in Vienna in the late 1890's. Also Sir Edward Grey, Balfour's predecessor in the Foreign Office in World War One, belongs in this list, having become sympathetic to the Zionist cause in Herzl's days, and strongly supported the idea of Jewish statehood during his tenure of office.

These are just a few of the illustrious figures in Britain who, having been won over for Zionism by Herzl and his collaborators, were fully acquainted with its problems and issues when, in a historical moment of world history, they were called upon to bring these endeavors to a successful conclusion.

The Streets of Altneuland

By Philip Gillon

WHEN Theodore Herzl wrote his fantasy, "Altneuland" in 1902, he foresaw many of the miracles of the Jewish State with astonishing accuracy. (Some of his prophecies, such as the absence of traffic jams and the sedate, soft-spoken workers seem to have grown ever more remote with the passing of time.) But one feature of the future way of life in the Jewish Homeland seemed completely to escape the otherwise astute eyes of his two observers, Kingscourt the disillusioned German nobleman and Dr. Friedrich Loewenberg, that educated, desperate young man. How was it that neither noticed the profusion of places named "Herzl"?

Herzl Street

Almost every town in Israel has its Herzl Street just as American villages have their Main Streets. Ashkelon, moreover, has been over-enthusiastic: it has two Herzl Streets, one the dirty main road and the other a quiet suburban street in "Afridar."

Naming a street after the great prophet and leader can be rather a tricky undertaking; obviously he is entitled to have the finest thoroughfare named in his honour. Time and the caprice of public taste have a tendency to change the importance of streets. Who would have thought 40 years ago that Tel Aviv's Herzl Street would become so dingy and down-at-heel? In those days it was a highway leading nobly to the Heredia Gymnasium, which has taken wings and has disappeared to the North; now Herzl Street is deemed too narrow for two-

way traffic. And the bazaar-like shops which line the narrow street hardly fit Herzl's dream of the New Society.

The Heredia Gymnasium, on the other hand, is still worthy of its great name. Jerusalem has named the Capital's finest mountain after Herzl—this was, of course, because of the wish expressed in his will that his remains should be re-interred at that spot; and the road to the mountain is majestically named Herzl Boulevard. On more mundane levels Jerusalem also has its Herzl Pharmacy, Herzl Paper Products and Herzl Knitting Wool.

The English spelling of places named after Herzl has led to exciting confusion. A lovely seaside town, soon to be a city, which is rapidly becoming an international tourist resort such as he imagined that Jericho would be, is named, according to the English telephone directory, "Herzliya." Large notices tell us that the Sharon and Tadmor Hotels are situated in "Herzlia on Sea."

Confused Transliteration

Haifa introduces two spelling varieties of its own; it has a "Herzliyah Pharmacy" at "I Herzliya Street." Presumably the street came before the pharmacist; one can but admire the spirit of rugged independence which led him to disregard the spelling of the street name right next to his door.

But of all the recipients of his name that would have delighted the original bearer of the appellation "Herzl," none can equal the great liner, "Altneuland" describes the busy harbour of Haifa, with the roadstead crowded with shipping of all nations;

Tribute in Stamps



Herzl). Designed by the noted Tel Aviv artists, M. and O. Shamir, it was made from a relief model of his portrait created by them for the purpose.

The second stamp was issued in 1954, on the 50th anniversary of Herzl's death. Designed by the Tel Aviv painter Errell, it shows a photographic reproduction of Herzl's head. The tab features a little vignette—a Star of David with a lion rampant and seven stars. This unassuming little drawing was done by Herzl himself, and the seven stars are seven-pointed to symbolize the seven-hour workday he envisaged for the workingman in the Jewish State.

Centenary Stamp

The third stamp, marking the centenary of Herzl's birth, will probably be issued during the 20th Zionist Congress to be held in Jerusalem this year.

Finally, a first-day cover designed by the Tel Aviv graphic artist, Otto Wallish for the 20-pruta flag stamp on March 31, 1948, shows another portrait of Herzl—from one of his best photographs—and the now-famous quotation from his diaries:

"If I were to sum up the (First Zionist) Congress in a word—which I shall take care not to publish—it would be this: At Herod I founded the Jewish State."

"If I could title our land today I would be greeted by universal laughter. In five years perhaps, and certainly in 10 years, everyone will perceive it."

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The grove on Mount Herzl, Jerusalem.

The Genius of Herzl

By Nathan Goldmann

THEODOR Herzl, seen as an historic figure in the total context of modern Jewish annals, signifies the climax of the influx of Western European civilization into the history of the Jewish people. His advent and accomplishments would have been unthinkable without an event which preceded him — the absorption of the central idea of Western European culture by the Jewish people in the 19th century.

Jewish history, from the early 19th century, was decisively dominated by the encounter of Judaism with Western European civilization, which was the result of the emancipation of the Jews in the past century. Most of the previous effects of the meeting of Western Europe with Judaism were seen from the Jewish viewpoint, either of a negative or of an entirely unharmonious nature. They led either to assimilation in various shades, or to imperfect attempts at amalgamating Jewish with Western European culture. Only in the modern Zionism of Herzl's making has a real synthesis — in the creative meaning of the word — between Western Europe and Judaism come about. This synthesis is the very essence of the modern Zionist movement, as conceived, proclaimed and created by Herzl. It provided the Jewish hope for Zion and the yearning for a home with the forms and tools of Western European civilization: the State as its final end and modern organization as its instrument. Only this synthesis made it possible to transform the old dream of Zion, which till then expressed itself only in poetry and prayers, in language and yearnings, into a political objective that within half a century would gain its first and decisive victory. Insofar as this, it is justified to say that the meeting between Western Europe and the Jewish people, which in many respects was harmful to the development and existence of the Jewish people, has in modern Zionism performed its positive and creative achievement.

Without this achievement it would have been one of the destructive periods of Jewish history; with it, a definitive contribution was made towards securing the existence of the people and in shaping anew its future. This synthesis, of which he has become the symbol, was Theodor Herzl's work.

Herzl was a genius, with all the advantages and weaknesses of a genius. Someone once made the very correct remark that only a talent formulates new ideas while a genius refines again and again the acquired, overlying truth. In other words, the essential part of a genius is his immense capacity for simplifying a situation and a problem, and his ability to reduce the great questions to their essential substance. Details and subtleties are always for the talented; a genius sees the world in its primary, permanent and eternal components. Herzl's concept of the Jewish question which brought him to Zionism is typical of this approach to problems. Only someone who had the ingenious capacity of simplifying one of the most complex problems of our century in such a grandly naive manner, could dare to take the plunge which fifty years later led to the real Jewish State.

Bitterness of Experience

His simplification of the basic concept had its unavoidable weaknesses, when the time came for putting it to the test. One can be a genius in staking one's political aims, but in practical politics, this method helps very little because the many objective facts and events of the real situation may be brushed aside in the conception, but not in the manner of its realization. Herzl tried to apply his ingenious method also to the field of realization. He hoped to attain the Jewish State, so to say, through a coup — through talks with the Sultan, the German Emperor and other potentates, but soon he found that reality is opposed to such radical ways. To a large extent, the tragic disappointments of his Zionist career lie in his growing recognition that the methods of translating his ingenious concept into practice were bound to be not ingenious but prosaic and pedestrian. He refused to recognize that his great fun-

damental idea of solving the Jewish question could only slowly and empirically be worked out in the manner proposed by the practical Zionists. His ingenious approach to the problem made it very hard and even impossible for him to understand and accept this. The vision of the genius Herzl could only be fulfilled by Weizmann's Zionism of *halutzim* and pioneer workers, by the indefatigable, unobtrusive daily work of building up the country. But, nonetheless, the fact remains that without his grand conception which, so to say, cuts through the very core of the modern Jewish question and reduces it to a simple, comprehensive formula, modern Zionism would have been impossible. This conception was the necessary basis for the slow and painful process of the peaceful attainment of Palestine through immigration and labour.

Herzl's Achievement

A leader becomes a leader by virtue of the people which he represents, but here and there in history it has happened that a people has turned into a nation as a result of the arrival of a leader. In that sense one is allowed to say that Herzl created the Jewish nation as a political force, as an acting, demanding, fighting collectivism. To give a people the awareness of a common platform and the consciousness of an active nation is the greatest creative achievement which a leader can perform. Nothing characterizes the phenomenon Herzl more prominently and more permanently than his success on this plane. Perhaps the most magical and greatest of all his accomplishments is the fact that through his approach and personality he turned the potentially existing but dispersed, disfranchised, passive and suffering Jewish people into an active and militant nation. Only since Theodor Herzl has there been in modern Jewish history a Jewish nation, like all other nations, acting, demanding, fighting. The Jewish State was his vision; the Jewish nation his creation.

A ROBUST SENSE OF JUDAISM

By Sir Leon Simon

NOT the least of Herzl's inestimable services to the Jewish people was the creation of a common platform on which representatives of the emancipated Jewish communities of the West and of the still unemancipated Jews of Eastern Europe could meet on terms of equality. The establishment of the Zionist Organization on a democratic basis was an implicit rejection of the idea, till then generally accepted without question, that the natural relation between the two sections of Jewry was one of benefactor and beneficiary. The Western Jews felt superior not only in the possession of the civil rights and the European education and culture which were withheld from their "co-religionists," but also in the somewhat anaemic type of Judaism which they had evolved in the process of cultural assimilation to their surroundings. The fact that they professed a novel kind of Judaism, which had ceased to be "national" and was purely "religious," was regarded by them not as the price they had to pay for emancipation, but as a positive advantage, which the unfortunate Jewish masses in the still backward countries might hope to share in God's good time.

Assimilationist Background

Herzl was born and brought up in the atmosphere of assimilated Judaism. That fact did not of itself entirely protect his boyhood from influences which in another setting might have sharpened his awareness of the basic national elements in Judaism; for such influences belong inescapably even to the Judaism of a Reform Temple such as that in which his father worshipped in Budapest. The Biblical Passover and the post-Biblical Hanukkah were both celebrated in his father's house, and both seem to have made a lasting impression on the unusually sensitive and imaginative boy. We have his own word for it that the liberation of his ancestors from Egypt appealed strongly to his imagination, and that before his "confirmation" he had a strange dream, in which the Messiah, appearing to him in the guise of a venerable old man, presented him to Moses as the child for whom he had prayed, and bade the boy announce to the Jews that he, the Messiah, was about to appear and perform signs and wonders for his people and for all humanity. But this early stirring of an embryonic Jewish nationalism, if it can be regarded as such, was a purely emotional experience, and did not imply any incipient disposition to challenge the assimilationist rejection of Jewish nationalism. That would have required a deeper insight into the essentials of the Jewish tradition than Herzl was ever able to achieve. As a boy, he was for some time a pupil at a Jewish school, and later he appears to have been interested in Jewish historical studies; but his Jewish education left no noticeable impression on his mind, and cannot be said to have been among the formative influences of his early years. Judaism remained for him just a religion, the religion of his fathers; and if in after years he became the protagonist of Jewish nationalism in the Western world, this was in defiance of the assimilationist philosophy which he never consciously outgrew.

His nationalism betokened a robust sense of Jewishness, but had no roots in what he

understood to be Judaism. His twin pillars were his profound sympathy with the downtrodden Jewish masses, and his prescient realization of the threat which anti-Semitism presented to all Jews as such. In his student days, though scarcely what we should now regard as actively Jewish, he was deeply stirred by what he heard or read about the sufferings of Russian Jewry, and an entry in his diary in 1881, when he was in his twenty-first year, shows how vehemently he reacted to the vicious anti-Jewish propaganda of Eugen Dubring, whose book, published in that year, laid the foundations of modern pseudo-scientific anti-Semitism. His personal experiences of anti-Semitism always evoked the response of a proudly conscious Jew. There was thus nothing surprising in the ferment into which he was thrown by the Dreyfus case in 1895; but the nature of his reaction to it could not have been foreseen. There was nothing in his earlier life, and certainly nothing in his attitude to Judaism, which foreshadowed his sudden leap into full-blown Jewish nationalism; and his impassioned advocacy of the idea of a Jewish State appears all the more miraculous when it is borne in mind that when he wrote *The Jewish State* he was unaware that he had been anticipated.

Herzl and Hess
Moses Hess, the first German-Jewish writer to propose the idea, had based the case for a Jewish State largely on a devastating critique of German Reform. His *Rome and Jerusalem*, published in 1862, shows that it was possible even in those early days for an assimilated German Jew, provided he had had a good Jewish education, to see through the shams and fallacies of the assimilationist philosophy. It was not till 1891 that Herzl found time and opportunity to read Hess' book, and he is said then to have been profoundly impressed by it. There is, however, no evidence of its having had any effect on his view of the nature of Judaism. In the following year he published his Zionist utopia, *Altneuland*, which clearly indicates that its author was still without any understanding of the nationalist conception of Judaism upheld by Hess (and later by his own redoubtable critic, Ahad Ha'am). In spite of the efforts he made during his Zionist years to repair the defects of his early Jewish education, he had not moved substantially from the purely confessional conception of Judaism which is reflected here and there in the pages of *The Jewish State*, published six years earlier.

Tragic Victim
The early history of Zionism might well have been less stormy if Herzl had had a juster appreciation of the historical factors which made the restoration of Jewish nationhood unthinkable except in and through the ancient land of the Jewish people, and the free development of its distinctive spirit and character. The movement would in that case have been spared the frequent internal tensions to which its leader's negative attitude towards colonization and cultural work gave rise, and the almost fatal East Africa crisis. But the worst sufferer from the lack of rapport between his own Judaism and that of the Jewish masses was Herzl himself, whose life was embittered, and his health broken, by the superhuman burdens imposed on the leader of an organization in which East and West were joined in uneasy partnership. He was the most tragic victim of the stultifying dichotomy of Jewish life, which his own work and inspiration had already done so much to cure when his dazzling Zionist career reached its untimely end.

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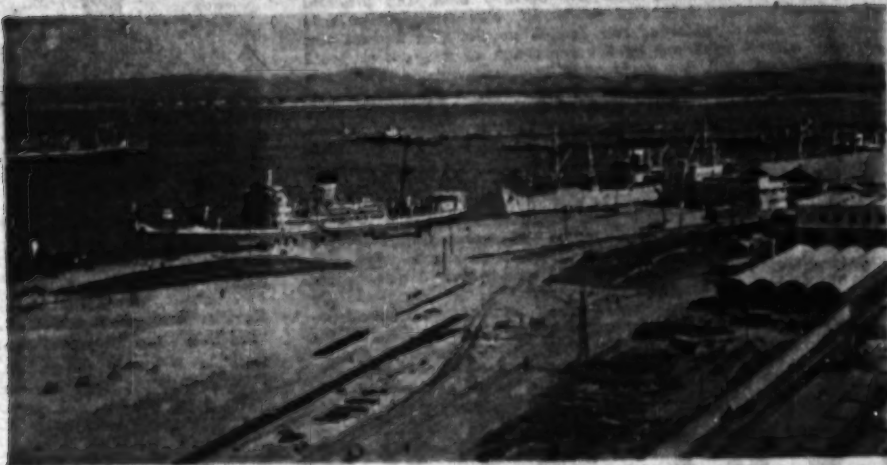
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VISION—AND FULFILMENT



HAIFA PORT — "Craft of every shape and size."

GREAT ships, such as were already known at the end of the nineteenth century, lay anchored in the roadstead between Acre and the foot of the Carmel. Behind this fleet they discerned the noble curve of the Bay. At its northern end, the grey fortress walls, heavy cupolas and slender minarets of Acre were outlined in their beautiful ancient Oriental architecture against the morning

skies. Nothing had changed much in that skyline. To the south, however, below the ancient, much tried city of Haifa, on the curve of the shore, splendid things had grown up. Thousands of white villas gleamed out of luxuriant green gardens. All the way from Acre to Mount Carmel stretched what seemed to be one great park. The mountain itself, also, was crowned with beautiful structures.

A magnificent city had been built beside the sapphire-blue Mediterranean. The magnificent stone dams showed the harbour for what it was; the safest and most convenient port in the eastern Mediterranean. Craft of every shape and size, flying the flags of all the nations, lay sheltered there.

Extracts From Theodor Herzl's Novel 'Altneuland'

BUT the Dead Sea salts also are golden. They are richer in bromine than any other natural lye. And you know how expensive bromine is.

"What was formerly the most barren, the most lifeless part of our country is now the most productive. In the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea there is bituminous lime from which we produce the best asphalt in the world. Eichner, a German chemist, said long ago that the geological character of the region indicates the presence of petroleum. Oil was in fact drilled for and found. Sulphur and phosphate, too, exist there in inexhaustible quantities. You know as well as I how important phosphate is in the manufacture of artificial fertilizers. As a matter of fact, our phosphates compete successfully with those of Tunis and Algiers; and, at that, we produce more easily and cheaply than Florida. The artificial fertilizers which we have been able to produce in such great abundance have of course contributed immeasurably to the progress of our agriculture."

"The real founders of 'Old-New-Land,'" said David, "were the hydraulic engineers. There was everything in having the swamps drained, the arid tracts irrigated, and a system of power supply installed."



HULSAN PROJECT: "The Swamps Drained."



HADASSAH EYE CLINIC — "From Africa and Asia."

"**M**ISS Bascha speaks from experience," said David. "She herself knows that kind of happiness very well, since she is at the head of the greatest eye clinic in the world. May I bring these gentlemen to your clinic, Doctor, when we come to Jerusalem? Large numbers of people, gentlemen, have had

their eyesight saved or restored there. You can imagine what a benediction that clinic is for the Orient. People come to it from all over Northern Africa and Asia. The blessings bestowed by our medical institutions have won us more friends in Palestine and the neighbouring countries than all our industrial and technical progress."



SHIP TO VILLAGE: "A Thousand Immigrants a Day."

EVERY day five hundred, a thousand or two thousand immigrants arrived at the various ports between Beirut and Jaffa. They were set to work the day after they landed. No delays! We needed tens of thousands of men for railway construction alone, and still more to erect the public buildings — the administration offices, schools, hospitals, etc. No great skill was required, once the plan had been adopted, and all had been arranged well in advance. For their work on the roads, railways and other public utilities, our labourers received not only wages (minus deductions for goods they might have purchased from the department stores) but they were also entitled to be settled on the land. An immigrant whom we assigned to various jobs that Spring was

to have a house built for him by the autumn in which to receive his family."

"**A**LL over the country independent manufacturers were erecting factories that were to be roofed over by autumn. As a matter of fact, any sensible person could see what splendid industrial prospects were opening up in this country: the local market for goods created by the large immigration; the low freight rates on the outboard ships, which still carried little return cargo; the long coast line; the central situation of the country between Europe and Asia. All these factors tempted people hither."

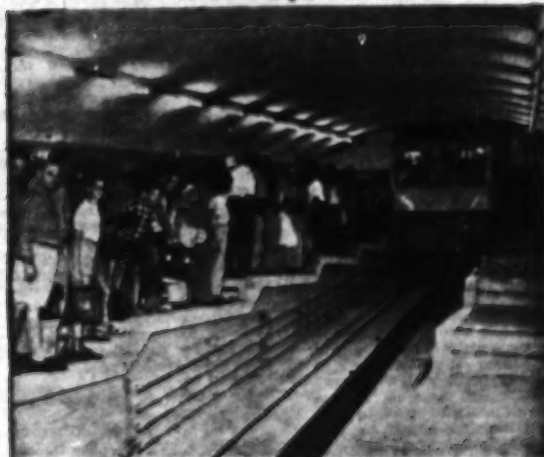
BUT, though the pioneers had achieved remarkable things in this region. Reclamation of the Jordan had been only one of their tasks. By means of magnificent dams in the valleys between the mountains on the eastern side, the abundant water supply of the land had been allowed to the full. In the age when the land had remained neglected, the rain had been allowed to run off into the ground.



ISRAEL OPERA — "At the National Theatre Tonight."

"**A**RE there Jewish plays?" queried Friedrich in surprise. "Haven't you already heard, teased Kingscourt, that the theatre is completely Judaized?" Sarah glanced at the paper. "At the national theatre tonight there is a Biblical drama called 'Moses,'" remarked David.

"A noble theme," remarked David. "But too serious. There's 'Sabbatai Zevi' at the opera. And at some of the popular theatres there are Yiddish farces. They are amusing, but not in very good taste. I should recommend the opera."



HAIFA SUBWAY: "A Powerful Iron Rail."

"**A**LL the devils!" shouted Kingscourt. "What's that?" He pointed to a large iron car running along the tops of the palms, whose passengers were looking down into the street of Haifa. The

wheels of the car were not underneath, but on its roof: it moved along a powerful iron rail. "An electric overhead train," explained Lottwak. "You must have seen them in Europe."

DRAMA IN HERZL'S DIARIES

THE Diaries of Herzl are the product of a remarkable man. The almost day-by-day notes tell of the birth of his Zionist idea, the motives behind it, the irresistible force that drove their author. He relates how he had originally thought of conveying the plan in the form of a novel, but eventually presented it in a brief pamphlet, "The Jewish State." Diaries, some writers maintain, are either dull or trivial and are for those who lead a cluttered life, but not for those whose existence is a whirlpool. But the Diaries of Herzl are unique. They represent the remarkable history of the Zionist movement and tell of how the playwright of light comedies had moved from romance to reality, how the "Parvenu of the Jews," as he described himself, had succeeded in conveying a complete record of his moods, ideas, views, his moments of exaltation, his feelings of despondency, his thoughts, of time fantastic, and his plans, always well-considered. Had he written a novel on the theme of a "Jewish State," it might have remained, like Dostoevsky's "Apropos," an interesting story. "It would have added," as he remarks "another fairy tale to the Arabian Nights' literature; it would perhaps have been discussed in drawing rooms, railroad compartments. Some could have laughed at the fantastic ideas and others would have swept into the pages." He therefore decided on action.

These Diaries give a complete record of the drama-

stances under which the Jewish State idea revealed itself to him, how it grew, took shape and completely took possession of him and how the literary man, the graceful essayist, playwright and journalist, was transformed into the political leader of the Jewish people. The Diaries are not merely a record of the formation of a great national movement and the accompanying circumstances. They are much more than that: they throw light on the general political conditions at the close of the last century, conditions with which Herzl was closely familiar as one of the editors of the "Neue Freie Presse" and as correspondent of the French Chamber for that paper for several years. They contain illuminating pen portraits of the most notable statesmen, rulers, writers and diplomats, with whom he was in contact. A shrewd observer and a gifted writer, the records and comments are of immense general interest. Herzl's talks with the "mighty ones," his visits to princes, the vivid description of his interviews with Abdul Hamid and Kaiser Wilhelm, his discussions with British statesmen, especially Joseph Chamberlain, with the political leaders of the Hungarian monarchy, his relations with the foremost Jews of his time, rabbis, bankers, and others, all are noted in a characteristic style. The Diaries give an insight into the man, his character, his ideals and the nobility of his mind.

JACOB HODEK



Herzl's first sight of the "Old-New Land" from the deck of the ship (1895). In Palestine, Herzl was to see the first of his dreams coming true.

FIVE FATEFUL MEETINGS

On April 22, 1895, Herzl had his first interview with a European prince on the subject of the Jewish question. It was with the Grand Duke of Baden and took place in Karlsruhe. The meeting had been arranged by the English pastor William Hechler who was one of Herzl's most devoted supporters and who accompanied him to the interview.

On entering the palace I tried to divert the power of the impression by making, like a reporter, a regular inventory of what I saw: green plush furniture, the brown curved wood of the chairs, legs, covered with light gold; photographs of the three Kais-

ers. Fortunately Hechler kept chattering incessantly...

Then the chamberlain came and invited us into the next salon. The Grand Duke had only gone for a brief stroll in the garden and would soon return.

Hechler continued to chatter, to keep me in countenance with his continuous talk. If it was done purposely, it was very fine.

Indeed, he had prepared me for everything in the most delicate fashion. For instance, he had told me the way to take my glove off my right hand in case the Grand Duke should extend his to me.

Suddenly the door of the apartment opened, and an old, solid but not stout-looking general entered: the Grand Duke. We sprang up from our armchairs. I bowed twice. The Grand Duke extended his hand to Hechler — he made no use of my carefully ungloved right hand. With a gesture he invited us to follow him. I entered last and closed the door behind me. I really don't know what his workroom looks like, for the entire time I had to keep my eyes, either as speaker or listener, on the Grand Duke. He is seventy years old, but looks from six to eight years younger.

Friendly Grand Duke

At the beginning I spoke with some embarrassment. I thought it best to speak in a lower voice, so that the usual self-intimidation of speech disappeared. After the first friendly questions as to my journey and quarters, I told him what I was by profession, and explained my previous position on the paper in Paris.

The Grand Duke said: "I read the 'Neue Freie Presse'." He inquired after Paris, and I described the parliamentary crisis, and in particular the present Bourgeois cabinet.

After a few minutes he interrupted me: "We want to speak of other matters."

Whereupon I plunged at once into the subject, and begged him to interrupt me with questions whenever my exposition was not clear.

So I unfolded the entire question. Unfortunately I was

compelled to concentrate so closely on what I was saying, that I was unable to observe him closely. Hechler said later that the conversation should have been taken down in shorthand. He thought I had spoken very well, and had found some first-class expressions.

I only knew that the Grand Duke had his fine blue eyes and his calm, kindly face constantly turned on me, and that he listened with great friendliness, and whenever he himself spoke it was with inexpressible modesty. After that strain of two and a half hours I was so weakened that I can no longer remember the exact course of the conversation.

Taken Seriously

In any case, the Grand Duke took my creation of the State in utmost seriousness. His principal worry was that if he were to declare himself for the thing it might be regarded as anti-Semitism.

I explained to him that only those Jews would go who wanted to.

It was his opinion that the governments could take the matter up properly only when they had the Society of Jews to deal with.

I naturally spoke in the century case. Let a few princes first declare themselves favorably; then the Society of Jews would from the outset have more authority. And authority was necessary if the great move were to be made in an orderly fashion. The Jews had to be educated and disciplined to the idea of the migration.

The Grand Duke then turned towards Hechler:

"The co-operation of England and Germany on this matter is unlikely enough. The relations are just now unfortunately disturbed. Will England help?"

I said: "The English Jews must look after that."

The Grand Duke, somewhat distrustful, said: "If they can."

I said: "When it is known that the Grand Duke of Baden is interested in the matter, it will make a profound impression."

He said, quickly: "That is not so. My position is not big enough. Yet, if the German Kaiser, or the King of Belgium were to do it."

I stood firm: "Yes, if an experienced prince, who helped to create the German Empire, and whose advice is now sought by the German Kaiser, were to declare himself on the side of this new enterprise, it would make a tremendous impression. Your Majesty is the adviser of the Kaiser."

He smiled: "I advise him and he does what he likes."

I then explained the advantages which the plan had for the Orient. If Turkey were going to be partitioned within a reasonable length of time we could create in Palestine an ideal empire. In the event of Turkey's enduring

we could still contribute a great deal. We could definitely settle the problem of the national budget of the Sultan in exchange for this territory, which was not of much use to him.

The Grand Duke asked whether it would not be better first to bring a couple of hundred thousand Jews to Palestine, and then raise the question.

I said, in a decisive tone: "I am opposed to that. For then the Jews would have to rise against the Sultan as insurgents. I want to do everything openly and clearly, within absolutely legal limits."

At first the Grand Duke looked at me in astonishment when I spoke so energetically; then he nodded his approval.

I spoke of the general advantage of the Jewish State for Europe. We should lay down the rails toward Asia, the highway for the cultured peoples. And this highway would not be in the possession of any one of the Great Powers.

The Grand Duke said: "It would also solve the Egyptian question. England hangs on to Egypt because she must defend her road to India. Actually Egypt costs more than it is worth."

Finally the Grand Duke said again: "I should like to see it happen. I believe it would be a blessing for many people."

First Meeting with the Kaiser

In 1895, Herzl went to the Middle East for his pre-arranged meeting with the Kaiser. On October 18, he was received by the Kaiser in Constantinople.

October 18, 1895.

THE Kaiser, in the dark uniform of a Hussar, came toward me. I stood still and made a deep bow. He came up to me, almost to the door, and offered me his hand. I believe he said that he was glad to see me, or something like that.

I said: "Your Imperial Majesty, I am happy to be the recipient of this distinction."

Then he went back round the table, pushed an armchair toward me, waved his hand in a gesture of invitation and sat down with his back to the table; he crossed his legs, which were encased in Hussar's boots. Like one who is settling comfortably for a long talk, Von Bismarck had entered behind me, and sat down at the same time as I. Like myself he held his top hat all the time on his knees. I had forgotten to remove the glove of my right hand, according to the rules of etiquette.

On my entry the Kaiser had given me a powerful look from his sea-blue eyes. He really has regal eyes. I have never seen the like. A marvellous, keen and searching gaze. The impression which he produced, especially the first impression — is obviously not a matter of indifference to him. He is

just as tall as I, and my first impression was that he is distressed because he has a short arm, and that he thinks to himself: "You, who come from the outside world, the world which sees me only in pictures, or storming by in the magnificence of court parades, are you not disappointed to see before you a Kaiser who has one arm shorter than all other people's?"

I therefore looked steadily into his fine, free, kindly and yet sharp eyes, which actually bewitched me.

I had expected that he would begin volubly and therefore I was somewhat out of breath when he made me speak.

"Where shall I begin, your Imperial Majesty?"

"Where you will," he said somewhat ironically and looked back.

I repeated the contents of my letter of the day before: my voice shook somewhat, and my heart beat violently against my ribs. And I was angry that Bismarck, who is not favourably disposed toward me, should see my embarrassment and certainly be delighted by it. But for all that I said nothing foolish. My fear was only in my voice. But when I came to the question of the Land Company and the German Protectorate he nodded rapidly and contentedly, as his habit is, more with his eyes than with his head. It is a highly characteristic movement. He looks sharply and powerfully at you — the Kaiser! — and when he is pleased by an observation or a phrase, his lips are pressed together and his splendid eyes say: "I understand you — you are my man — first class."

Herzl's 'Landsleute'

He soon took over the lead and explained why he considered the Zionist movement of worth. Unfortunately I was an embarrassed listener, and I had to exert all my strength in preparing the replies, so that I have not been able to retain all the details. He never mentioned the Jews except as my "Landsleute" — and not in an exactly friendly tone. He had no doubt that we had sufficient money and man-power at our disposal to carry out the colonization of Palestine. Here my attention failed a little, for I was observing my own impression that my three years of work have made of the word "Zionism" an accepted term, which the Kaiser used freely in speaking with me.

"There are," he said, "among your Landsleute certain elements which it would be well to have immigrate into Palestine. I am thinking, for instance, of those cases where there are a number of usurers among the country people. If these were to take their wealth and settle in the colonies, they would make themselves more useful." These were his words, more or less

I was assured that he should identify the Jews with a few usurers, and in my indignation I suddenly found myself cool and controlled again, and I made a short speech against anti-Semitism, which had stabbed us to the heart. We had been deeply pained...

The Kaiser observed that he believed the Jews would set about the colonization of Palestine if they knew that he would keep them under his protection, and that they really would not be leaving Germany.

Bismarck supplemented with: "And they will, we hope, be grateful for it." But he drew my attention to the fact that the rich Jews did not agree with my idea. "The big papers, too, are not for it, and your own amongst them. You ought to think of getting one or the other of the big papers on your side."

I said: "Your Excellency, that is purely a matter of money. As a writer I regret to have to say it."

Bismarck's intentions were quite clear. He wanted to let the Kaiser understand that I had no power behind me. Bismarck said whatever he could in opposition to me, without using the word "No," which he dared not do, for the common reply was obviously "Yes." He kept saying: "Yes, yes — Yes, but — Yes, if only —." Nothing but masked negatives.

Kaiser's Approval

I felt my arguments growing stronger and stronger under the encouragement of the Kaiser's approval.

I soon touched on the subject of the opportune moment that lay before Germany, what with France's inner weakness.

The conversation lagged for a moment after the French chapter. I made use of the pause to come back to the subject.

I went on, and while he nodded approval unfolded the whole subject before him. I think I laid down all the arguments: Russia's Siberian line, which might prove for Europe a Pandora's box of immeasurable evils. Everything, everything. He listened splendidly, at times; and when I touched on the complicated forms of the loan we could make for Turkey, with evident effort and tension I said, finally: "I don't know whether it is because I am so gripped by the subject — but the whole thing appears quite natural to me."

He looked at me powerfully: "To me, too."

Bismarck objected: "Yes, if you want to do the thing here, you must perhaps get at the Ministers" — and he rubbed thumb and forefinger together as if counting money — "everybody takes here."

The Kaiser dismissed that with a light wave of the hand and said: "But it will make

(Continued on following page)

An Autobiographical Sketch

By Theodor Herzl (1898)

I was born in the year 1860, in Budapest, close to that synagogue in which the Rabbi recently criticised me with the utmost severity because I wanted — really and truly! — to obtain for the Jews more dignity and freedom than they at present enjoy. But when twenty years will have passed there will be a "To Let" sign on the door of the house in the Tabakgasse where I first saw the light of day.

I cannot deny that I went to school. First I went to a Jewish preparatory school, where I was treated with a certain respect because my father was a well-to-do merchant. My first memories of this school centre round the thrashings which I got because I did not know all the details of the exodus of the Jews from Egypt. To-day there are many school-masters who would like to thrash me because I remember it too well. At the age of ten I went to the Realschule where, in contrast to the Gymnasium, which specialises in the classics, the main emphasis is laid on modern studies. At that time de Lessops was the hero of the day, and I completed a plan for the cutting through of that other Isthmus — the Panama. But I soon lost my first love for logarithms and trigonometry, for at that time there reigned in the Realschule an outspoken anti-Semitic tendency. One of our teachers used to define the word heathen with the following classification: "Among them are idolaters, Mohammedans and Jews." After this extraordinary explanation I had enough of the Realschule and wanted instead to go to a classic institution. My good father never kept me to a hard-and-fast programme of studies, and so I became a student at a Gymnasium. Nevertheless I did not give my Panama plan up altogether. Many years later, as the Paris correspondent of the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*, I had a great deal to report to my paper concerning the unsavoury incidents which accompanied this scandalous episode in modern French history.

Move to Vienna

The Jews were in the majority at the Evangelical Gymnasium, and for that reason I found too little to complain of in the way of Jew-baiting. When I was in the seventh class I wrote my first newspaper article — anonymously, of course, or else I should have been kept in. While I was still a student in the higher classes of the Gymnasium, my only sister, a girl of eighteen, died. My mother fell into such depression that in 1878 we moved to Vienna.

During the week of mourning Rabbi Kohn visited us, and asked me what my plans for the future were. I told him that I wanted to become a writer, whereupon the Rabbi shook his head with the same disapproval as he did years later over my Zionism. A writer's career is really no sort of profession, the dissatisfied Rabbi concluded.

In Vienna I studied law, took part in all the crazy student tricks and wore the coloured cap of a student *Verbindung* until one day the society decided to cease admitting Jews as members. Such Jews as were already members received generous permission to remain. I said farewell to my noble young colleagues and sat down seriously to my work. In 1884 I graduated as Doctor of Laws and took a post as unpaid official under the guidance of a judge. I found employment in the courts in Vienna and Salzburg. The work in Salzburg seemed to be more attractive: the scenery around that city is known for its beauty. My law office was in



Herzl as a schoolboy.

an old tower in the castle, right under the clock, and three times daily the bells rang pleasantly in my ears.

Naturally I wrote more plays than briefs. In Salzburg I spent some of the happiest hours of my life. And I would gladly have remained in the beautiful city; but as a Jew I would never have received an appointment as judge. And for that reason I said farewell simultaneously to Salzburg and to legal learning.

I was again destined to distress profoundly the Rabbi of Budapest; for instead of looking around for a real profession or a real job I began to travel and to write for the theatre and for newspapers. Many of my plays were accepted and played in various theatres, some with more and some with less applause. Until this day I fail to understand why some of my plays were received with applause while others were hissed. But the difference in the receptions accorded to my pieces taught me one thing — to pay no attention whether the public applauded or hissed. The conscience must be satisfied; nothing else matters. Today I have no use for any of my dramas — even those which are still produced successfully at the Imperial Burgtheater.

Paris Correspondent

In 1880 I married. I now have three children, a boy and two girls. In my opinion my children are neither bad-looking nor stupid. But of course I may be mistaken.

During my travels in Spain, in 1881, the Vienna newspaper *Die Neue Freie Presse* offered me the position of its foreign correspondent in Paris. I accepted, even though up to that time I had despised and avoided politics. In Paris I had an opportunity to learn what it is that the world understands in the word politics, and I expressed my own opinion in a little book, *Das Palais Bourbon*. In 1886 I had had enough of Paris and returned to Vienna.

During the last two months of my stay in Paris I wrote the book "The Jewish State." I cannot remember ever having written anything in such a mood of exaltation. Heine tells us that he heard the flapping of eagles' wings above his head when he wrote certain stanzas. I too seemed to hear the flutter of wings above my head while I wrote "The Jewish State." I worked as it daily, until I was completely exhausted. My one recreation was on the evenings when I could go to hear Wagner's music, and particularly *Tannhauser*, an opera which I go to hear as often as it is produced. And only on those evenings when there was no opera did I have my doubts as to the truth of my ideas.

My first idea was to let this little essay on the solution of the Jewish question circulate privately among my friends. It was only later that I thought of publishing it; it was not my intention to begin a personal agitation on the Jewish question. The majority of my readers will be astounded to learn of this re-

luctance on my part. The whole matter seemed to me to be one in which action had to be taken, but in which discussion was impossible. An open agitation was reserved as a last resource, only when my private advice was ignored or repudiated.

First Reaction

When I had completed the book I asked my oldest and best friend to read the manuscript. In the midst of the reading he suddenly burst into tears. I found this natural enough, since he was a Jew; I too had wept at times during the writing of it. But I was staggered when he gave me an entirely different reason for his tears. He thought that I had gone off my head, and since he was my friend he was touched to tears by my misfortune. He ran off without saying another word. After a sleepless night he returned and pressed me hard to leave the entire business alone, for every one would take me for a lunatic.

He was so excited that I promised him anything. In order to soothe him. Then he besought me to ask Max Nordau whether this plan of mine could possibly have entered the mind of any man still capable of making calculations. "I shall not ask anybody," I said. "If this is the impression my ideas make on an educated and faithful friend, I shall give them up."

It was thus that I went through my first crisis; the only comparison I can find for it is the plunging of a red-hot body into a basin of cold water. It is true, however, that if the body is iron, it becomes steel.

My friend, of whom I have written above, had to cast up



Birthplace — near a synagogue in Budapest.

my expenses for telegraphic messages. When he handed me the account, which was made up of a great number of items, I saw at a single glance that he had miscalculated. I drew his attention to the error, and he added up the total a second time; but it was only at the third or fourth attempt that his figures agreed with mine. This little incident returned to me my self-confidence. If it was a matter of calculation, I seemed to be capable of greater accuracy than he. My reason, then, had not left me entirely.

Eternity of Zionism

On that day began my restlessness concerning the Jewish State. During the two years and more that have passed since then, I have lived through many sorrowful days, and I fear that other

days, even more sorrowful, are still in reserve for me. In 1890 I began to keep a diary, and by now four thick volumes are already filled. If I were to publish these volumes the world would be astounded at what efforts I had to put into this work, to know who were the enemies of my plans, and who were the men that stood by me.

But one thing I regard as certain, and placed beyond the reach of all doubt: the movement will endure. I do not know when I shall die, but Zionism will never die. Since those days in Baden, the Jewish people has a national representation once again; as a result the Jewish State will once more rise in its own country. I am at present engaged in the task of creating the Bank, and I expect it to be at least as great a success as the Congress was.

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A MODERN MOSES

By Josef Frankel

It would appear as though history itself — Jewish history — decided upon the year 1859 as the moment for Theodor Herzl's entry upon the Jewish scene. Had he appeared six years earlier, while Leo Pinsker, head of the Odessa Committee of the Hovevei Zion, was still alive, he would probably not have taken over the Zionist leadership. The year 1859 was also a symbolic time for the new Jewish world. Rev. William H. Hepburn, Chaplain at the British Embassy in Vienna, had already proclaimed that, according to his "official reckoning," 1859 was the year in which the restoration of the Jews to Palestine would begin. The time was propitious for Herzl's Zionist preparations and political successes. Had Herzl emerged six years later, it is doubtful whether political Zionism would have been sufficiently mature to pave the way for the Balfour Declaration which led to the establishment of the State of Israel. Even his life and Jewish experiences were as though planned by fate for his mission.

There was a legend in the Herzl family.

Herzl's Ancestors

Two Marranos, wearing the habit of Catholic monks, came to Innsbruck from Spain, the land of the Inquisition. After much wandering, they arrived at Semlin, and there or in Belgrade they openly professed their Judaism. Their name was Loeb, and they were brothers. One of them, Naphele, was Herzl's ancestor. Loeb (1) comes from the Hebrew, and means heart — Herz (2).

Herzl's ancestors were Sephardim. About 1670, German Jews — Ashkenazim — came to Semlin, and settled there, and Sephardim and Ashkenazim Jews inter-married. It happened in the Herzl family too. Many of Herzl's ancestors held office in the Semlin Jewish community and were highly respected.

Simon Loeb Herzl (1808-1870) often visited his son Jacob Herzl (1828-1900) in Budapest, and he exercised a "certain Jewish influence" on his grandson, Theodor. Old Simon Loeb Herzl, the strictly orthodox Jew, was a contemporary of another Semlin Jew, known in Jewish history among the forerunners of Zionism, Rabbi Yehuda ben Solomon, Elai Alshich who preached day-dreams of the establishment of a Jewish State. Only a few joined him in his day-dreams. One of them was Simon Loeb Herzl. And every time the patriarch, Simon Loeb, came to Budapest, he bent over his little grandson's cradle and sang the child to sleep to the music of Alshich's songs.

Gifted Youth

Theodor (Theophrastus) Herzl was born in Budapest on May 19th, 1860-May 2nd, 1904. He was a bright little lad, good looking, with black hair and clever dreamy eyes. He was gifted at school, learned several languages and mastered difficult subjects easily. At the age of six, he learned the Hebrew alphabet and Biblical history, etc. retained a lively memory of the story of Exodus because his teacher had once asked him for not knowing enough about the liberation of the Jews from the land of the Pharaohs. On Saturdays and holidays he would go with his father to the synagogue. He was most interested in divine plans for technical achievements. In 1869 he had the idea of cutting the isthmus of Panama. Eight years later, Ferdinand de Lesseps, who built the Suez Canal, started work on the Panama Canal.

Theodor Herzl's first Jewish experience was at his elementary school, when he was told: "Jews and Gypsies are people without a Fatherland."

His second Jewish experience followed soon after. Young Herzl went to the non-classical secondary school. Some anti-Jewish feeling penetrated into the school, and one of the teachers tried to infect his pupils with anti-Semitism. During a lesson, while the teacher was trying to explain that "Jews, idolaters and Moslems are heathens," Herzl decided to leave that school. Actually, Herzl, who had intended to become



The Student

an engineer or technician, after this "Judenrede" entered the classical school to enable him later to study law. His father was an honest business man and a devoted husband. His mother, Jennette Herzl, was a beautiful woman, noble, affectionate and understanding. Both parents were tenderly anxious to give their children Theodor and his sister Pauline, who was a year older, the best possible education. Pauline was her parents' joy and Theodor Herzl's great friend and adviser. She had considerable ability as an actress and had already scored some successes on the stage. (Theodor Herzl's interest in the theatre was first aroused by her when she suddenly fell ill and died within a few days in February, 1878. Herzl never forgot his sister. Her death was the first great sorrow in his life. Year after year he went to visit her grave. In "Altneuland" he lamented her as "Miriam." Sadly on account of her death, Herzl's parents decided to leave Budapest, which had such painful memories for them, and went to Vienna.

Law Student

Herzl entered Vienna University and attended the lectures of the Faculty of Law. Two years later he became a member of the students' corporation "Albia." Herzl had a happy time at the "Albia" and spent several hours almost daily in the "den." Every member of the "Albia" — as of all the students' corporations at that time — had to fight a duel with another student. In the summer term of 1881, a fencing duel was arranged between the "Albia" fencer, Theodor Herzl, and the "Altneuland" fencer, Karl Koch. Dr. Schersinger, Herzl's surgeon, stitched one "blood wound" he sustained, while Koch also received one "blood wound."

Anti-Semitic Experiences

But anti-Semitism was spreading and the anti-Jewish speeches delivered by Ritter von Schönerer, whom Adolf Hitler in "Mein Kampf" described as the spiritual father of the Nazi movement, caused trouble among the student organizations. Herzl did not like the way things were developing and was soon regarded with mistrust by his friends in the "Albia." But Herzl's real home was clear to him only after the speech made by Hermann Bahr of the "Albia" at the Richard

Wagner Memorial meeting on March 5, 1882. Bahr did not deal with Wagner's music, but passionately praised Wagner's anti-Semitism. Herzl felt insulted, both personally and as a Jew, and he notified the "Albia" by letter that he could not remain a member, since he felt himself to be a "Semite."

The "Jew-debater" of the "Albia" aroused in Herzl a great deal of interest in the problems of anti-Semitism and Jew-hatred. He had already read briefly the books of Professor Eugen Dühring, one of the champions of anti-Semitic literature. Herzl the young student advised, in his "Youth Diary," all Jews to read Dühring, to learn to think that their enemies were seeking to re-introduce the Ghetto. From that time onward Herzl's thoughts were occupied with the problem of the Ghetto. Out of the Ghetto! Away from the Ghetto! — even then it was already Herzl's way of solving the Jewish problem.

In 1884, Herzl graduated as a Doctor of Law, but he found little to interest him in the dry, legal work, and wrote more for the papers than for the courts. He had two great ambitions: to achieve success in the Burgtheater and in the "Neue Freie Presse."

He wrote about two dozen plays and wanted to see them performed on the stage of the famous Burgtheater. Eventually a number of his plays were staged at the Burgtheater and at other Austrian and German theatres. Wildside alone was performed in some fifty theatres.

The Dreyfus Trial

In 1891, two years after his marriage to the beautiful Julia daughter of Jacob Naschauer — a prominent figure in Austria's economic life — Herzl was offered the post of Paris correspondent of the "Neue Freie Presse." While in Paris, he heard one day the cry "Down with the Jews" and once more the Jewish problem gave him no rest. He studied the works of the French anti-Semitic leader, Edouard Drumont, and as a journalist he felt the urge to express himself with his pen. He would write a Jewish novel! The Jewish novel became a Jewish play, "The New Ghetto," written in October, 1894. "The New Ghetto" had a message, and it was this: "Jews, get out of the Ghetto!" — the original solution from his student days in the "Albia." Then in the midst of his work there came another experience —

the last link in the chain of his "Judenrede" — the Dreyfus Affair.

Herzl sat at the press table and telegraphed reports of the Dreyfus trial to his paper in Vienna several times every day. Alfred Dreyfus was convicted. The story goes that while the verdict was being pronounced, a colleague at the press table spoke to Herzl, unaware of the fact that he was a Jew, remarking: "What does it matter if Dreyfus is convicted? After all he is only a Jew."

The Jewish State

"After all, he is only a Jew!" It was then that Herzl decided to devote himself entirely to the Jewish cause. He asked himself the question: If the Jews are to get out of the Ghetto, where are they to go? The only real answer, which had for a long time hovered in his unconscious, but only assumed a



The Lawyer

definite form after he had written his play "The New Ghetto," was to be found in the title of his pamphlet: "The Jewish State: An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Problem" (1896). Eight years of dramatic and harrowing endeavour followed during which Herzl sought to win the Jews over to his Zionism and to enlist the help of non-Jews for the re-establishment of the Jewish State. Although Zionism has been in existence as long as the Jews have been in the Diaspora, political or modern Zionism only began with Herzl.

Herzl created the apparatus and instruments for the realization of his plans. He published a weekly, "Die Welt," convened the Zionist Congress in Basle, founded the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Colonial Trust. He thought of a flag, a hymn, and helped to realize the projects of others, such as the Jewish National Fund, and pro-



The Journalist

posed the idea of a Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He portrayed his Jewish State in his novel "Altneuland" which Nahum Sokolow translated into Hebrew under the title "Tel Aviv."

Herzl was not only the first Jewish statesman but — what was of equal importance — the greatest organizer of the Jewish people. He was a visionary and predicted that millions of Jews would emigrate to the Holy Land and that the Jews would contribute millions of pounds towards its reconstruction. He regarded Zionism not merely as an "internal" affair of the Jewish people, but also as a political question affecting all civilized nations. The result was that many governments took Zionism seriously and asked their ambassadors in Switzerland for information on the First Zionist Congress in Basle (1897) and on the prospects of a realization of Zionist aims. He negotiated with the German Kaiser, William II, with Sultan Abdul Hamid II, with the Grand Duke of Baden, with Ernst von Koser, Austrian Prime Minister, with Joseph Chamberlain, British Colonial Secretary, with the Russian Ministers Ploshchev and Witte, with the King of Italy, with Pope Pius X, and with numerous other statesmen and leading politicians. He was acknowledged as President of the Zionist Organization and spokesman of the Jews, and the Jews were recognized as a people. All this and much more he achieved in barely eight years!

But no Moses ever reaches the promised land. Herzl knew he would die in the Diaspora and ordered a family vault in the Doeblinger cemetery in Vienna, where he was to lie until the Jewish people could take his bones home to the Jewish State. On August 17, 1904, his last wish was fulfilled — his remains were re-interred in Jerusalem.

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Five Meetings

(Continued from previous page)

an impression when the German Kaiser is coupled with the subject, and expresses interest in it."

Here I had the feeling of one who wanders in a fairy forest and meets the fabulous unicorn, which says to him in a human voice: "I am the fabulous unicorn."

The Kaiser said further: "After all, I am the only one who stands by the Sultan. I mean something to him."

He looked again at his watch and rose. "Tell me, in one word, what I am to ask of the Sultan, for you."

"A chartered company, under German protection."

"Good, a chartered company. He gave me his hand, which is strong enough for two, and pressed mine powerfully."

When the Kaiser had left the salon I went out with Bülow. Bülow looked down the corridor after the Kaiser and said to me: "A magnificent monarch."

The Third Meeting With the Kaiser

On Nov. 2 (which less than two decades later became "Balfour Day"), Herzl and a Zionist delegation were received by the Kaiser in Jerusalem.

EIGHT minutes past one. We are back from the audience.

This short reception will be remembered for ever in Jewish history, and it is not impossible that it will have historic consequences.

But how bald the details of the whole procedure are. At half past eleven we were through with our hearty, midday meal. I am keeping my gentlemen on a strict diet, so that they will be in proper form.

At twelve o'clock we were all dressed. Bodenheimer had a grotesque silk hat on and his cuffs were too wide, so that his undersleeves slipped out. At the last moment we had to get other cuffs for him.

I put on my shabby Medici order — for the first time.

We drove in the blazing noon-day sun and the white dust to the tent. A couple of Jews in the streets looked up as we drove by. Once in the swamp staring up at the wild geese flying above.

At the entrance to the tent the Turkish guard hesitated before he let us pass. Then a sergeant came and had us admitted.

Then they called us into the Kaiser's tent. The Kaiser stood there in blue colonial uniform, his own helmet on his head and — astonishingly enough — his riding-whip in his right hand. A couple of steps before the entrance I stopped and bowed. At my entrance the Kaiser stretched out his hand to me in friendly greeting. Somewhat at the side stood Bülow in dusty grey stock suit, holding my corrected outline in his hand.

The four men entered the broad tent after me. I sat



The Zionist Delegation at Jerusalem.

ed whether I might introduce the gentlemen and the Kaiser nodded. As every name was called off, he raised his hand to the tip of his helmet.

Then, after exchanging a glance with Bülow, I took the paper in my hand and read forth, at first in a somewhat shaky voice, but soon entirely at my ease. From to time I glanced up from the paper and looked into his eyes, which he kept steadily on me.

When I had finished he spoke. He said the following, more or less.

The Kaiser's Interest

"I thank you for your communications, which have interested me greatly. The matter must in any case be studied more closely and discussed at greater length." Thereupon he entered on some observations concerning the colonies which had been founded till then. "The land must have water and shade above everything else." He made use of a number of technical, agricultural and forestry terms. He had learned, he said, that the soil was cultivable.

The settlements which I have seen, the German as well as those of your lands, may serve as a model of what can be done in this country. The land has room for all. Only provide water and shade. For the native population, too, the colonies can serve as models to be imitated. Your movement, with which I am well acquainted, contains a healthy idea."

He assured us again of his permanent interest, and what he added during the remaining five or six minutes of his reply I cannot remember.

As soon as his official reply was over, he stretched out his hand to me, but did not let us go yet. He drew us into conversation together with Bülow. "You know Herr von Bülow, don't you?"

Whether I knew him! Bülow, who had followed with his finger the copy of the document which I had read forth, smiled sweetly. We spoke about the journey.

The Kaiser said: "We happen to have struck the hottest weather. At Hamath the temperature was thirty-one

in the shade and forty-one in the sun."

Bülow said sweetly: "As Your Majesty was gracious enough to say, the water is the most important thing."

"That we can bring into the country. It will cost billions but it will bring billions in return."

"Well, you certainly don't lack the money," exclaimed the Kaiser jovially, and clapped his whip against his back. "You have more money than all the rest of us."

Bülow abundant does so. "Yes, yes, money, which makes so much difficulty for us, you have abundantly."

At this point I remarked how the water power of the Jordan could be used, and drew Bodenheimer, an engineer, into the conversation. Bodenheimer spoke about dams, etc. The Kaiser entered readily on this subject, and carried the idea further. Then he mentioned the health question, eye diseases, etc., which spread particularly during the fig harvest season. Then I drew Schnirer into the conversation, and he spoke briefly on this subject.

I could not bring Wolffsohn or Bodenheimer into the conversation, for the Kaiser closed the audience by extending his hand to me again.

I went out first, but I glanced backward again from the side. I saw the Kaiser in profile, turned towards Bülow.

Graf von Kessel asked us, as we went: "Is the audience over already?" He was less friendly than in Constantinople, from which I concluded that our share did not stand so high now.

As we went I said to Schnirer: "He has said neither yes nor no."

The Second Meeting With the Kaiser

Ten days later, Herzl and the Kaiser — again — formally — near the entrance to Mikveh Israel.

October 29, 1902, Jerusalem. WE rode forth, the day before yesterday, from Rehov le Zion. At a distance of half an hour is the Jewish village of Vard of Chanin. There the entire population turned out to meet us; children singing; and an old man greeted us with bread and salt and wine from his own soil. I had to visit almost every house in the colony.

We rode. A cavalcade came storming out to meet us from Rehov, some twenty young fellows who sang a sort of fantasia, sang Hebrew songs, and swarmed around our carriage. Wolffsohn, Schnirer, Bodenheimer and I had tears in our eyes, as we saw these swift, manly riders into whom our pants-sling boys can be transformed. I was reminded of the Far West riders of the American plains, whom I once saw in Paris.

At nine o'clock a movement on the road, which was covered with a mixed multitude of Arab beggars, women, children and horsemen, indicated the approach of the Imperial party. Grim-looking Turkish horsemen came riding first, with reins loose, with threatening weapons and still more

threatening looks. Then the outriders. And then, last, a grey groom, with some ladies and with the Kaiser himself.

I gave the sign to the school choir of Mikveh to sing the Hail Dr. de Herzl. I took my place by the side of one of the ploughs, and took off my own helmet. The Kaiser recognized me from a distance. He started slightly, raised in his horse towards me — and stopped opposite me. I stopped forward two paces; and as he bent over his horse's neck and stretched out his hand to me, I came quite close to him and stretched out mine, and remained standing with bowed head.

He laughed and shook with his kindly eyes:

"How are you?"

"I thank Your Majesty. I am seeing the country. How has Your Majesty's journey been so far?"

His eyes flashed.

"Very hot. But the land has a future."

"At present it is still sick."

I said.

"It needs water, much water," he said, speaking downward at me.

"Yes, Your Majesty. Colonization on a grand scale."

He repeated: "It is a land of the future."

Perhaps he said something more which I have now forgotten, for the interview lasted several minutes. Then he stretched his hand out to me again and galloped off. The Kaiserin had also ridden forward a little, and nodded to me, smiling. Then, while the childish voices sang the Hail Dr. de Herzl, the Imperial suite moved forward.

Among the horsemen I recognized the Count Marshall, Rosenburg, who greeted me, stately and a few of them asked who that had been. The Rothschild administrators looked timid and irritated.

Wolffsohn, the day before, had taken two snapshots. At least, so he thought. He tap-



Wolffsohn's photograph of the Kaiser (right) and Herzl's left foot.

ped his Kodak proudly. "I wouldn't give up this film for ten thousand marks."

But when we got to the photographer in Jaffa and had the plates developed, we saw that one of the snapshots showed the shadow of the Kaiser and my left foot, while the other was completely spoiled.

The Interview With the Sultan

It took several years for Herzl to achieve an interview with Abdul Hamid, Sultan of Turkey and ruler of Palestine. The meeting eventually was held on May 22, 1902 at Constantinople.

THE Sultan stood before me. I exactly as I had pictured him to myself: small, lean, with a big nose-peak, dyed beard, a weak, trembling voice. He wore the big uniform of the Sultans, a mantle above his chest and diamond orders, given. He gave me his hand and we sat down. He sat on the divan, the sword between his knees. Ibrahim both sat and stood. He kept jumping up, the better to hear His Majesty's words, and then translated; he also translated what I said, in turn.

The Sultan began with Salamallah; as did I. He said he always and the "Dear Peace Prince." I only said myself how, since he does not know German. It

was the paper he sold from which he got his information about the Transvaal, China, etc. I then thanked the Sultan for the High Order he had given me. We then spoke about the friendly relations between our countries (meaning Turkey and Austria). He was glad to hear that everything was well with Franz Joseph, etc.

But this was not enough for me. I told him through Ibrahim that I was devoted to him because he was good to the Jews. The Jews all over the world were grateful to him. I in particular was ready to serve him in every way possible, naturally not on a small scale — I left that to others — but on a large scale. Before going further, I said that I would not make public the contents of the audience. He thanked me, took two cigarettes out of a silver cigarette-box, handed one to me, took the other himself. Ibrahim, who dared not smoke, lit his cigarette and then mine.

Then the Sultan said: "I always have been, and still am a friend of the Jews. I rely chiefly on Mussulmans and Jews. I haven't as much faith in my other subjects as in them."

I then complained of the injustices which are committed all over the world against the Jews, and he said he had always kept his Empire open as a refuge for the Jews.

Then I said: "When Professor Vambery told me that your Majesty would receive me, I had to think of the old story of Andronicus and the Lion. Your Majesty is the Lion, I am perhaps Andronicus, and perhaps there is a thorn to be drawn out."

He acknowledged the compliment with a smile.

"The Public Debt I consider to be the thorn. If this could be removed then Turkey could once more blossom in her strength, in which I believe."

Removing the Debt

He smiled, and smiled smiling. Ibrahim then translated. Ever since he had entered on his glorious reign His Majesty had been trying to remove the thorn. The debt had been accumulated under the high professors of His Majesty, and it had not been possible to get rid of it. If I could be helpful in this regard, it would be fine.

"Well then," I said, "I believe I can. But the first and principal condition, a condition precedent, is absolute secrecy."

The Kaiser lifted his eyes to heaven, placed his hand on his breast and murmured: "Secret, secret!"

I explained my request. The Powers, who wanted to see Turkey weak, would do everything in their power to prevent recovery. They would exert every effort to prevent the correction. That he could understand.

I said — as from now on I kept the reins of the conversation in my hand — that I could carry through this operation through my friends on all the Embassies of Europe. If I had the help of His Majesty, but this help had to consist, at the first step, of a warm message in favour of the Jews, made public in the proper way.

Ibrahim looked in with surprised looks the words of his master, and translated them with joy. "His Majesty has a great favour to do to a Jew. He could give anything of a friendly nature to him, to publish in the papers. He also has a Chief Rabbi for the Jews, the Chief Rabbi, He could also tell him."

This I would not accept. I remembered what Dr. Herzl had told me, that the Christian Rabbi and others over my name was mentioned.

I went out. In the waiting many hands were stretched out to me for handshakes. I distributed not a few. My assistant, which I had in short several times, cut me a fortune.



Herzl with a group of Turkish soldiers.

THROUGH ARTISTS' EYES

By Lionel S. Rolfs

In the great movements of human history, during the periods of spiritual and material readjustments or retrogressions, the artist has always had an important message to contribute. His creative records are frequently the only remains we have to trace and understand those long lost human struggles. All art tends to express and perpetuate its own period in history and its own special geographic environment. An Assyrian sculpture, beautifully proclaiming the power of some forgotten king, a painted or carved Egyptian mural, enumerating the slaves captured or the booty seized, or even a modest memorial tablet in the period of King Uzziah articulating the social, economic, political or religious condition of man at those historic moments. Such art expressions signify the slow stages in the long struggle of a people in the fulfillment of its destiny.

Many-Sided Genius

The great leaders of historic movements who have aroused and inspired large masses have often been perpetuated for posterity in stone, in bronze, on canvas or even in stained glass windows. Their likenesses, in whatever medium or form, have aroused the emotions and memories of nations. Quite often these images have become idols and as hero symbols of a people have persisted in their dreams, their hopes and aspirations.

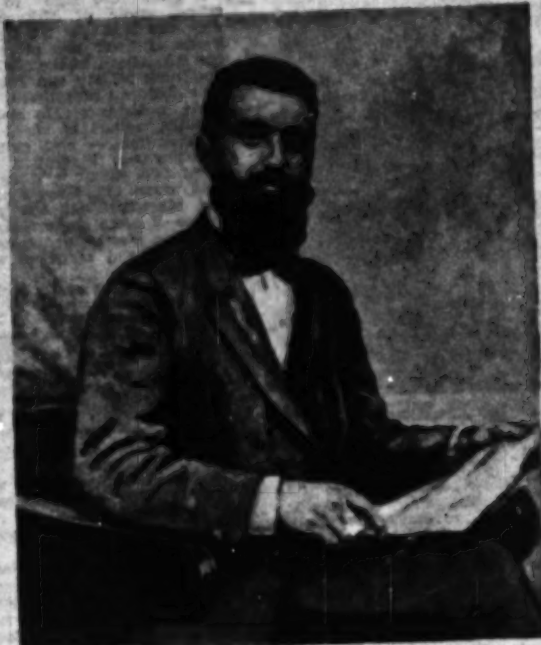
The Zionist movement was to world Jewry as a blessed rainfall after a long and devastating drought. The refreshing stimulus caused a strong creative flowering through the world of Jewish arts and letters. The imposing image of the leader, Theodor Herzl, became at once the subject for many Jewish artists. They recognized immediately the significance of the man and the movement.

The portraits of Theodor Herzl are many and varied. Not all the portraits reflect the spiritual status of this man. In some of them the artist has caught some facet of his many-sided genius. But when we appraise these works, and carefully weigh the capacity of the artist's powers of perception and interpretation, we may glimpse something of value.

Lilien

The work of Ephraim Moshe Lilien was in great favour during the last decade of the 19th century and the first two decades of this century. He came under the influence of Herzl and Zionism early in his career and attended one of the Basle Congresses where he met the leader. His work in black and white adorned the pages of books, magazines and newspapers wherever Jews lived. His style was of an ornate, decorative nature with an undertone of the Art Nouveau movement. His designs were carefully and meticulously finished and had a mixture of Germanic and Hellenic flavoring. Lilien's attempt to superimpose Hebrew subject-matter on an assimilated Hellenistic base resulted in his work being neither Jewish nor Hellenic. In his design "Die Erschaffung des Menschen" for Morris Rosenfeld's book "Lieder des Ghetto," Lilien pictures Herzl as a harp-bearing angel in attendance at the creation of man. The figure of Herzl is very seen by the artist as something approaching a Greek god.

But in Lilien's design for a stained glass window, which he made for the Bnai B'rith in Hamburg, the figure of Herzl which he has drawn becomes a significant concept. In this window he has pictured Herzl as a new Moses, a new law-giver, bringing a new covenant to a weathered and tortured peo-



G. Wertheimer: Herzl at 35 (1895)



By Boris Schatz

ple. In this design Lilien strove to express the ancient story in a modern style, the ancient setting in a modern prophesy, a new leader arising in a modern Egypt. I do not know if the Bnai B'rith building in Hamburg that once contained this stained glass window by Lilien... hastened the catastrophe of the Hitler terror. At any rate I am sure that we have many reproductions of this design in our various archives. It would not be a bad idea to see this window reproduced in some appropriate building.

Hermann Struck, one of the artist-Chalutsim, brought with him to Israel a cultured and highly sensitive talent. His name has been a household word wherever Jews live. In his portrait etchings of Herzl, Struck saw in Herzl's and face the universal father-image of all Jews. In these etchings we see Herzl as the bearer of all the woes of European Jewry, a father brooding over his problem-children and mourning the loss of Zion. If Struck was sentimental in his interpretation of Herzl, he was expressing the honest feelings of his heart and echoing the feelings of millions of Jews.

Boris Schatz

Boris Schatz, founder of the Bezalel School, modelled several likenesses of Herzl. Schatz was a good teacher, but his portraits of Herzl have no strong personal viewpoint and it is difficult to assess what Schatz saw in Herzl. The spirit of art can function in unaccountable ways but the evidence of its expressions must leave us with strong convictions.

Leo Meltsiner's portrait of Herzl was painted in Paris from life, around the turn of the century, when the artist was an active member

and needs, whose broad, humanitarian understanding of the problems facing his people and whose mental composure can cope with the problems lying in his path. In this composition Meltsiner pictures Herzl poised for a moment in time as if turning suddenly to answer a call, be it a friendly call or the call of an emergency. There is in every line in this composition a graceful and appealing humaneness crowned by a quiet dignity. This portrayal of Herzl comes fairly close to bringing to posterity the character of the man as the world knows him best.

Pilichowsky

Leopold Pilichowsky, who was internationally known for his many paintings of Jewish life, painted a full-length picture of Herzl standing on a mount, possibly Mt. Sion, overlooking Jerusalem. In my younger days I was often touched by the pictures of Jewish life painted by Pilichowsky. In his portrait of Herzl which used to hang in the reconstructed study of Herzl in Jerusalem, the artist saw an elegant gentleman, carefully dressed, his gloved hands holding cane, cane and top hat. The figure of Herzl seems to be coldly repelling and theatrical and seems to portray an actor strutting across an artificially constructed stage setting. It seems strange that an artist who painted so much of what at one time appeared to me to be the pathos of Jewish life should portray Herzl as a matinee idol in this false, superficial and banal accent on clothes, as if clothes can make a Herzl.

There have been a number of other portraits painted of Herzl both before and after he died. Those others that were done from life should be mentioned in this short account.

A good portrait by Solomon J. Solomon, the Royal Academician, painted in the late '80s shows Herzl in a poetic mood, brooding on the problems that beset his path and plague the lives of Jews. The paint is handled with quiet and charming tonal nuances, building up its accent and concentration on the noble head of the leader, dreaming his visions of the future.

Wertheimer

The portrait painted by G. Wertheimer in 1895 shows us the 35-year-old Herzl, seated and holding a manuscript, probably part of his "Jewish State." In this study there are still signs of young vi-



By J. Budko

gour and the alertness of a man of ideas used to meeting journalistic deadlines.

A few years later the artist Koppay (1899) painted a Herzl meticulously dressed for some state occasion before or after one of his meetings with a European government head. But around the eyes the artist caught something of the worry and apprehension facing Herzl in his struggle to solve Jewish problems and the fight to maintain his health.

There have also been made many portrait busts, bas-reliefs and medallions of all sizes and shapes during and after Herzl's lifetime. Most of them are of little distinction other than that they possess a measure of sound craftsmanship and serve the purpose for which they were originally designed.

On the whole the portraits of Herzl were painted in the traditional European fashions of his day. The art of portraiture can never be merely representation. Art cannot spend itself in the making of something precise that can be measurably proven correct. The reality that an artist expresses may have little resemblance to nature, but he may still create a work of art which commands its acceptance by the force of its own inner power and its own truth.

Most of the painters mentioned here were highly skilled and able men. They seemed to be under the stress of an historic obligation to leave authenticated documents in paint and stone which everyone could readily agree were good and sound representations of Herzl. In treasuring these portraits we fully acknowledge the debt we owe these artists in their attempt to catch some precious phase, mood or expression for posterity to ponder, and remember the man Theodor Herzl.

Medals and Coins Section

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THE DAY OF ISSUE of the
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The Centenary of
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THE JERUSALEM POST

HERZL CENTENARY

FRIDAY, MAY 6, 1960

ה'תש"ס ח' מ' תמוז

Visionary From Another World

By CHAIM WEIZMANN, FIRST PRESIDENT OF ISRAEL

From an address made at Basle in 1907 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the First Zionist Congress.

ANYONE who has any idea of the history of the Zionist movement knows that a form of Zionism existed even before Herzl. Certain developments took place in Palestine in the seventies and the early 'eighties of the last century, which have left their mark to this very day. But in 1896 a small booklet entitled "The Jewish State" was written by a man whose name was, at least in the region where I lived, unknown. Dr. Herzl's name was quite likely familiar in Western Europe, but in the ghettoes and among the Jews of Eastern Europe it was unknown. "The Jewish State" was only a utopia, reminiscent of the works of other authors. And yet this booklet radiated an atmosphere and a warmth which immediately won the hearts of the Jewish masses. There was something messianic in it, particularly as it appeared at a moment when the horizon looked black for Russian-Polish Jewry. At times like these there is always a recurrence of messianic hope.

Herzl's brochure did not remain just on paper. Only one year after its appearance it was translated into fact. The message was soon passed on to every town, great or small, in Poland and Russia in which a Jewish ghetto existed. Herzl called on the Jews to convene a Congress, and then endeavored to implement the ideas which he had formulated in his book. His appeal was to the rich and influential Jews. The appeal was refused. Only after that did Herzl remember that poor Jews could perhaps do what the rich ones had refused to do. Thus he came to those who were once honored by the Chancellor of the Reich, Von Bismarck, with the title "beggars and conspirators."

Response to Call

We were neither beggars nor conspirators — we were just poor people. We responded to Herzl's call in a way which can seldom be given to a future leader. Delegates went from town to town to explain to the Jews what a Congress was, who Herzl was, what a Jewish State meant and how things could be done. The slogan went from mouth to mouth: "If you will it — it is no legend." Our late friend Buchmil went from town to town with the message. I accompanied him on several occasions. He travelled fourth class, because there was no fifth. He journeyed by night and made speeches by day. He discussed things with every Jew individually. I remember, for instance, how we once arrived in a little town near Pinsk and spoke to a handful of Jews there, very early in the morning. I asked one of them, who was still half asleep: "Tell me, did you really understand what I was talking about?" He replied: "No, but I understand one thing. If what you were talking about was not true, you would not have come

here." This was the atmosphere all over the Jewish world, and everybody waited impatiently for the day of the Congress.

The Congress was originally to have taken place in Munich, but a certain group of people, among whom the "Protest Rabbis" are best known, prevented it. So we went to Basle. I was not present at the First Congress myself, for the simple reason that I could not pay my fare; even if I had had the money, it would have been too late. It remained for me to follow the Congress in my imagination. At that time we still had no newspapers — no Jewish Telegraphic Agency or Palcor. Even so the Congress was tensely followed, while the personality of Herzl grew not only in the eyes of those who came into direct contact with him but also in those of people who never saw him. He became a monumental, mythical Jewish figure — something out of legend. He came from a region unknown to us, he spoke a language which we did not know properly. Every Jew thought he knew German very well, of course, but Herzl's German was not "Kongressdeutsch." Yet he spoke with such penetrating, inner feeling that we, too, understood him. We sensed what he wanted to say. To see him was an unforgettable experience. He glowed — at the time radiance was not yet known — with a kind of Zionist radioactivity, electrifying his entire environment, urging it towards action. He had everything to make us admire him: he was tall, he was an expert in style, and although he was no orator, his words went straight to the point. He knew the way to men's hearts. To all of us he was first and foremost a great teacher of organization and politics. We hearkened to his maxims and his teaching with joy.

Over-Simplification

But in spite of all this, Herzl's influence was, in the last analysis, due to the fact that he came to us from a different world. I certainly do not want to minimize Herzl's achievements, but very often, studying his work, I have wondered if, had Herzl known the Jews as we knew them, had he known Palestine as it really was at the time, he would have had the courage to do what he did. It was

(Continued on Page VII)



Herzl and Weizmann (left) at the Sixth Congress in 1903.

THE first Zionist Congress brought about six things — three of them theoretical and three of them practical. Its first consequence was to establish the character of the Jews as a nation among nations. The Jews are not a religious sect, as people used to think in the Middle Ages, and as they used to think at the time of the emancipation, though for different reasons. The Jews are not a tribe of gipsies or part of the people among whom they dwell. The Jews are a nation. Possibly the Jews of Eastern Europe and the Orient would have felt this even had there been no Zionist Congress; but it is clear that large sections of Jewry in Central and Western Europe had lost that natural feeling. There had to arise a man like Herzl, born and educated in the West, to proclaim the elementary truth that the Jews are a nation like other nations. This carried more weight with the Jews than the previous expression of the idea by Pinsker. For Pinsker was an *Outsider*; but now there came a *Westside* to proclaim the fact, and as a result the realization grew, both among the Jews and non-Jews, that the Jews are a nation.

In the second place, the 1897 Congress established the world-wide character of the Jewish problem. Russian Jewry, for instance, was well aware of it. But its international character had never been publicly proclaimed. Then came Herzl and convened Jewish delegates from over twenty countries for the sole purpose of holding a joint discussion upon the problem common to all — the Jewish problem. What had previously been acknowledged only in the hearts of men was now openly declared to the world. As long as the Jewish problem did not emerge as a universal problem, it was possible to believe

that it would find its solution in the next stage of human progress; that when the East European Jews achieved the cherished status of German Jewry and were granted political emancipation, the problem would be solved. Pinsker was the first man to deny this hypothesis. Instead of emancipation he advocated auto-emancipation. Then came Herzl and gave the idea its political formulation: the character of the Jewish problem would not be altered by a change of regime. The outer form of the problem might change under democratic rule, but its content was not susceptible to change as long as there existed a state of homelessness, as long as there was no territory and no world-wide national organization. And so the universal nature of the Jewish problem was recognized. The movement with which I identified myself and in which I was active — the Zionist Labour movement — also proclaimed the universal nature of the Jewish problem. While the Socialist Bund was talking about the problem of the Jews and of the Jewish proletariat in Poland, Lithuania and Russia, the Zionist Socialist movement came along and said: The problem of the Jews and of the Jewish proletariat is the same the world over, and national frontiers do not alter the fact. That was the Zionist idea, which was proclaimed by Herzl at the first Zionist Congress.

Sense of Realities

The third of the theoretical consequences of the first Congress was the realization that the universal problem must find a universal solution, and that it could not be solved country by country. Its circumstances called for an effort by the entire nation with the help of the civilized and democratic world. Such aid should not, however, be rendered out of pity, but should arise out of a sense of realism, a recognition of the existing forces and an awareness of the dangers that threatened the world if the problem remained unsolved. There must consequently be a single solution on a world-wide scale. Herzl directed his call to governments and nations, and they heard him. There was as yet no League of Nations or United Nations Organization, and so he issued his appeal to the people of the world from a Jewish platform.

Now I come to the three practical results of the first Zionist Congress; and they represent no less of an innovation than the theoretical

results. In the first place the unity of the nation was restored by means of a single representative body, a single, world-wide Jewish Parliament. Never before in the history of the Dispersion had Jews from so many different countries come together openly and proclaimed themselves one nation, and, indeed, come forward as one nation. There was to be more, vast opposition, such as that of the "Protest Rabbis" of Munich. But Herzl was endowed with the necessary boldness, and he turned the national Zionist organization into a fact. He revealed the secret that the Jewish nation, even though it had as yet no homeland, could be organized by means of a body representing Jews throughout the world. The establishment of the world Zionist forum was an even greater innovation than the Hahib Zion movement which was, after all, restricted to certain areas of Eastern Europe. The Congress at Basle saw the birth of unity on a world-wide scale. It was attended by Jews from East and West, from America and even from Palestine and the Arab countries.

Ethical Organization

Secondly, the Congress led to the establishment of a permanent organization. The Zionist Organization was the first Jewish organization on a world scale. It was later followed by many organizations for philanthropic and other purposes; but the Zionist Organization founded at Basle was the first of its kind. That is how I understand the words uttered by Herzl which were thought to be a mere phrase; he was using no phrase and uttering no prophecy when he said, "I founded the Jewish State." This was a statement of political realities. Under modern conditions of financial and organizational aid, a people had come into being for the first time, and it was to serve as the foundation of a future State.

Lastly, and by no means least in importance, the first Zionist Congress forged the instrument for the execution of the project. It is interesting that the Jewish National Fund was not established till after the fifth Congress, and that the Jewish national bank was not founded for some years after that. What is important is that at Basle the prototype was created which for the first time brought the realization of the Jewish national idea within the range of practical possibilities.

From an address to the Vaad Leumi in 1907

Herzl addressing the Zionist Congress at Basle.

A NATION REBORN

By President ISRAEL BEN-ZVI

GERMAN JEWS' DIVDED REACTION

By Dr. Georg Herlitz

HERZL'S appearance on the world Jewish stage coincided with the period when the Jews of Germany were at the peak of their economic achievement and — in connection with that — at the climax of their complete social and cultural assimilation. From every aspect they considered themselves pure Germans save in the sphere of religion; they claimed that they differed from their compatriots only in that they were not Christians but "Germans of the Moslem persuasion."

It is no wonder then, the atmosphere being so, that when Herzl published his "Jewish State" with the accompanying slogan: "We are a nation, one nation" it was taken by the Jews of Germany as a bombshell threatening their economic and political attainments. There were as yet not many Jewish newspapers in Germany at that time, but the few that were appearing regularly and especially the two larger ones — the "Allgemeine Jüdische Zeitung," organ of the free-thinking Jews in Berlin, and the "Israelit,"

of the orthodox Jews in Frankfurt, energetically rejected Herzl's pamphlet and its thesis. This attitude of the majority of German Jews to Zionism did not change for 20 years — till the Balfour Declaration in 1917. But the bitter opposition of the German Jews to Zionist ideas reached its initial peak precisely at the time when Herzl began his Zionist activity. When he published his invitation to the first Zionist Congress, not only did the heads of the Munich Jewish community, where Herzl wished to convene the Congress,

prevent it by their firm opposition, but the spiritual leaders of German Jewry, the "German Committee of the Association of Jewish Rabbis in Germany," comprising all religious trends, from Reform to ultra orthodox, in July 1897 published a declaration in the Jewish press against the convening of the Zionist Congress. These "Protect Rabbis," as Herzl called them in his reply, argued in their declaration not only that the Zionist idea vitiated the status of the Jews in their countries of domicile but also stood in absolute contradiction to the ideas of traditional religious Judaism. In the light of such an attitude it is not surprising that official German Jewry not only did not respond to Herzl's call to participate in the first Zionist Congress but even remained hostile to the Zionist movement for two decades.

Thus when the Congress opened at Basle on August 29, 1897, only 36 participants were there from Germany — participants advisedly, and not "delegates," because not a single German participant was elected to this Congress. Fifteen of these participants were not of German origin at all — they were Jews who had come from Russia to study at German universities; the remaining thirty were German by birth. Among them were members of the "Hovevei Zion" movement who had been in Germany before Herzl made his appearance as well as a number of political Zionists such as Heinrich Löwe, Max Bodenheimer and David Wolfsohn who had nurtured the Zionist idea ten years before Herzl and others who had been awakened by Herzl's call. Herzl was specially appreciative of these Zionists from Germany and assigned three of the six addresses scheduled to be delivered at the Congress to Dr. Hirsch Hildesheimer, Willi Bamber and Dr. Max Bodenheimer, all Zionists from Germany. The first two declined the honour because they were more "Lovers of Zion" than Zionists as Herzl conceived Zionism, while Dr. Bodenheimer delivered his address in which he discussed the organization of the World Zionist Organization which was founded at the Basle Congress. Herzl's appreciation of the German Zionists continued and we find that at the second Congress as well as all the other congresses he convened, there was always

an address by a German Zionist, such as that of David Wolfsohn at the second Congress where he discussed the founding of the Zionist Bank.

German Zionists Favoured

There is a most convincing and conclusive proof of Herzl's special fondness for the German Zionists. When in 1904 Herzl went to the Holy Land to meet Kaiser Wilhelm II and to propose German political patronage for the Zionist Movement, his four companions included two of German origin, David Wolfsohn and Max Bodenheimer. Herzl of course needed, for the purposes of this meeting with the German Kaiser, two Jews who originated in that country, but he selected Wolfsohn and Bodenheimer because they had placed themselves at his disposal immediately after the publication of the "Jewish State" as early as May, 1896 and remained his most loyal and devoted supporters. Later Herzl was to draw to him Dr. Adolph Friedmann for diplomatic-political activities and Dr. Franz Oppenheimer and Prof. Otto Warburg for practical settlement work in Palestine, all of them Zionists of German origin.

We see then, that special relations existed between Herzl and the German Zionists and may perhaps add that of all the factions in the World Zionist Organization there were no more loyal supporters of Herzl's special ideas than they. They continued Herzl's tradition and it is no wonder that the first two Presidents of the World Zionist Organization after Herzl's death, David Wolfsohn and Otto Warburg, came from the ranks of the German Zionists. It is perhaps correct to say, in the words of the Minister of Justice, Pinhas Rosen himself a German Zionist, that "they assumed the burden and responsibility for the continued existence of the World Zionist Organization after Herzl," and could do so, we might add, thanks to their training in the spirit of Theodor Herzl.



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The World Jewish Congress

ISRAEL EXECUTIVE

On the occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the birth of Theodor Herzl, who envisaged the Jewish State in thought, deed, vision and sacrifice, our blessings are sent to the State of Israel, its courageous people and Government, to the Zionist movement and to the Jewish people the world over. All are called upon in this Herzl year to increase their contribution to the up-building of the State of Israel. This is the best way of paying tribute to the immortal merits of the great prophet of Jewish national liberation, Theodor Herzl.

Transatlantic Zionism

By Julius Huber

HERZL was most anxious to receive a reaction from America as soon as he published his booklet "The Jewish State." He received the first letter from an American Zionist on November 20, 1895. This was from Wolf Schur, a Yiddish bookseller in Chicago, who wrote to Herzl congratulating him on the appearance of "The Jewish State," and followed it up by another letter in which he stated that the last issues of the Hebrew publications "Hemeltz" and "Haher" carried the full story about "The Jewish State."

Herzl also received a letter from Rose Sonnenschein, the editor of the publication "The American Jewess," written from Carlsbad, where she was vacationing. It was dated May 8, 1897. Herzl in his reply advised her that the Zionist Congress would convene in Munich (later it was changed to Basel) and invited her to participate in the Congress. Herzl was very anxious to hear direct from America how the movement was received and on May 22, 1897, he entered in his diaries: "The movement is beginning in America. Michael Singer, editor of the new weekly 'Tolnische,' sends me reports about meetings which he arranged in New York and elsewhere."

Several weeks later, Herzl received a cable from the Baltimore Zionist Association, advising him that they had elected a delegate to the Congress. About the same time Herzl cabled to Michael Singer that the Congress would convene in Basel on August 29.

At Basel, Herzl supervised the seating of four delegates from America: Adam Rosenberg, of New York; Rose Sonnenschein of St. Louis; Reverend Dr. Scheftel Schaffer of Baltimore; and Davis Trietsch of New York (later of Germany).

Herzl indicated his interest in the American Zionist movement by asking Adam Rosenberg, who was a lawyer, to serve together with Dr. Max Nordau and Dr. Max Bodenheimer on the committee which drafted the Basel programme adopted by the Congress.

A month after the Congress, on September 28, 1897, Dr. Richard Gotthell, professor at Columbia University, and later the first President of the Federation of American Zionists, wrote his first letter to Herzl, in which he stated that he was extremely sorry that it had been impossible for him to be in Basel at the Congress, but that he expected to attend the next Congress wherever it would be held. He also advised Herzl he was on the point of founding Zionist circles for the express purpose of studying the various questions connected with the central Zionist idea. He asked Herzl for material on the Congress, including a simple delegate's badge as well as pictures of colonies in Palestine.

Zionist Societies

In the early days of the movement, Dr. Michael Singer of New York reported directly to Herzl on his activities on behalf of Zionism, and on November 18, 1897, he reported that a conference had been called by Rabbi Hillel Klein for the purpose of organizing the "United Zionists of the United States."

Two months later, on January 12, Herzl received the following cable: "Greetings to the energetic fighter for Zion Dr. Theodor Herzl. The central office of the newly organized United Zionist Societies of the United States has just opened. The basis of our organization is the Basel programme and eventually Zion. Signed: Rabbi Dr. Hillel Klein; Dr. I. J. Blustein and Dr. Michael Singer." There followed a letter naming the affiliated Zionist Societies which had joined that organization.

On June 28, 1898, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, in his first letter to Herzl, reported that a group of which he acted as secretary had called a conference for July 4 to organize a central body, "The Federation of American Zionists," and that there were already functioning 33 societies with a membership of 8,000. Two months later, when Dr. and Mrs. Gotthell and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise met Herzl, the latter named Wise as the secretary for English during the sessions of the second Congress. Wise served also as special correspondent for New York's daily "New York Journal," to which he filed lengthy cables on the proceedings at the Congress.

When he took leave of Herzl, Wise was asked to send reports on Zionist as well as general Jewish activities in the United States to "Die Welt." Some months later, Herzl wrote to Dr. Gotthell to engage the Yiddish poet and writer Morris Rosenfeld as the American correspondent of "Die Welt." Since the publication expected to add a Yiddish supplement, Rosenfeld was to be asked also to write a weekly article in Yiddish. During the summer of 1898, when Herzl was about to set out on his journey to Russia and to the sixth Zionist Congress in Basel, Dr. Gotthell wrote him:

Schechter's Journey

"...Quite suddenly my friend Professor Solomon Schechter has determined to go to Europe... he said to me, 'I will not go as a delegate to the Congress, but as an onlooker... I know that he is going to the Congress in the interest of his American financiers. He was brought from England by them to head the Jewish Theological Seminary... He is their ear. I shall get more information from him when we meet in Heidelberg before coming to Basel... The group of financiers are interested in the Baghdad railroad scheme planned by the Germans. It seems that President Theodore Roosevelt as well as Secretary of State John Hay are aware of the entire scheme... And according to Oscar Straus, it might be of help to settle Jews in Mesopotamia... we must try at the Congress to win over Dr. Schechter through his friend Herbert Bentwich.'"

Cyrus L. Sulzberger, the father of the present publisher of "The New York Times," Arthur Hays Sulzberger, knew Theodor Herzl personally. Cyrus Sulzberger, a distinguished merchant, philanthropist and active civic leader, was regarded as one of the foremost leaders in American life. Herzl befriended him at the Congress in Basel in 1897, which Mr. Sulzberger attended as a delegate, and invited him to accompany him to the synagogue for Sabbath services. During the stroll, Herzl told him that a fortnight earlier he had visited St. Petersburg, where he had had a long conversation with Von Plehve. But Herzl voiced the fear that pogroms surpassing those of Kishinev were in store for the Jews. This concern prompted him to welcome the British government's offer of Uganda for the settlement of Jews. This news caused Sulzberger to become one of the most enthusiastic delegates and he said so in his address to the Congress favouring the Uganda project.

The last Zionist leader from America who met Herzl was Dr. Wise. It was at the meeting of the Zionist Actions Committee, of which Wise was a member, on April 18, 1904, in Vienna. At that time Herzl entrusted to Wise the important mission of bringing him together with Jacob H. Schiff, who was already in Berlin, en route to Egypt. Herzl said to Wise, "You are still a young man. You will live to see a Jewish State in ancient Palestine." And Herzl took his ring off his finger and handed it to Wise.

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Financing the Vision

THE Jewish Colonial Trust, established in 1900 after the idea had been approved in principle by the Second Zionist Congress, was envisaged by Herzl as a financial instrument of the Zionist Movement which would thus be made independent of a few rich benefactors. He also wanted to use the Trust as a means of obtaining credits for the Turkish Sultan whom he still hoped to persuade to grant the Jews a charter for colonization in Palestine in return for financial support.

The Trust was registered in London with an authorized capital of two million one-pound shares, and one of the articles provided that the Trust could begin its operations with a paid-up capital of £250,000. It took three years before this minimum amount was subscribed and most of the shares were purchased by the Jewish masses in Russia. The Czarist Government, in a surprisingly generous gesture, allowed these shares to be sold in that country.

Reminiscing this week in Jerusalem about the early days of the Zionist Movement, Dr. Georg Halpern, a former Managing Director of the Anglo-Palestine Bank which was founded by the Jewish Colonial Trust, recalled that a one pound share was a fabulous sum at the turn of the century. In Russia the price of a share was ten rubles, and since no one had

that amount of spare cash available, a share could be redeemed with ten one ruble stamps which were especially prepared in connection with the sale of the J.C.T. shares. A total of 140,000 shareholders, of whom the majority were Russian Jews, purchased the first 250,000 shares.

The Anglo-Palestine Bank (the predecessor of the Bank Leumi Le-Israel) which was founded in 1900 was destined to play an important role as a financial instrument in the colonization of Palestine.

H.H.

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An Unknown Speech

By Dr. Alex Bein

ON June 28, 1895, Herzl spoke at St. Martin's Tavern Hall in the West End of London. This was Herzl's first major address after his visit to Palestine. Apart from his main speech, Herzl, at the end of the meeting, responded to the vote of thanks. This speech is only preserved in a contemporary English account which appeared in "The Messenger of Zion" (a supplement to "Young Israel") on June 30, 1895. As far as we know, this is the first occasion on which Herzl stated openly that the object of Zionism was not solely the establishment of a Jewish State but also the betterment of all humanity. In addition, this was the first occasion on which he clearly postulated the task of the Jews after returning to their land as constituting a bridge between East and West. For the discovery of this material, I must thank Mr. Joseph Frankel of London. And here are Herzl's remarks (in part):

Different from Crusaders

There are people who misunderstand us, and think that the goal of our efforts is to return to our land. Our ideal goes beyond that; our ideal is of the great eternal truth; it is an ideal that is always advancing; it is an unattainable ideal as with each step forward our horizon advances, and in perspective we see before us an even greater one, nobler and which we shall endeavour to approach. (Cheers.)

We are different from the

Crusaders, whose return from the East brought to the West, in the folds of their garments, the ideas, the civilization, the culture, and the arts of the East, making for a remembrance in art, giving a romantic touch to the poetry of the troubadours which has left its mark on European civilization. Unlike these Crusaders who came back to the West with visions of the East dancing before their eyes, we Jews shall return to the East with visions of Western culture ever present in our minds. Yes, we shall bend to the morning lands again all that is great, all that is noble, all that is great in the evening lands from which we came forth. We shall transplant ourselves like a flower that springs up out of the ground, grow, blossom, and give its fragrance and its beauty to the world. We shall retain the soul in the Jewish people; for the ideal which is ever before us is to impart the highest culture to our people. We shall lift up the Jewish soul to its greatest heights; if I am spared, I would wish to be there. (Loud cries of "Amen.") We shall give to our poor masses all these higher thoughts, help them to realize the greatest ideal of justice and righteousness.

Endless, endless is the ideal. I did not know until I came into the movement that the Christians as well as the Jews regard our return as the beginning of a wonderful era. The wonder of these times shall be our striving after our ideal — the ennoblement of humanity. (Loud and long cheers.)

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Journey to Rome Support from South Africa

By Dr. S. U. Nahon

A NUMBER of hitherto unpublished letters written by Theodor Herzl to Dr. Felice Ravenna, first President of the Italian Zionist Federation, are at present being exhibited in the hall adjoining the Italian Synagogue in Jerusalem.

The main purpose of the letters, most of them written in French, was to prepare the ground for Herzl's visit to Italy — which finally took place in January 1904.

In his efforts towards obtaining a Charter for Palestine from the Sultan of Turkey, Herzl sought the good offices of other heads of State, and to mobilize public opinion in favour of Zionism: on the day following the conclusion of the Sixth Congress (August 1903) he resolved to make a visit to Rome.

"It is necessary for me to see the Pope," he wrote to Ravenna on September 5, 1903. Five days later, in another letter, Herzl outlined the proposals he wished to submit to His Holiness: "We want only the secular land of Palestine. We have no desire whatever to encroach upon the Holy Places. The Holy Places, indeed, must be extra-territorialized for all time, *res sacra extra commercium*. I wish this proposal to be accepted and to be taken under the protection of the Pope as the spiritual sovereign, respected and recognized even by Christians of other denominations."

Feelings put out in various directions were unfruitful, until finally a casual meeting opened the doors of the Vatican to Herzl. Purely by chance, in Venice, during his first day on Italian soil, Herzl met Count Lippay, a painter to the Vatican. The Count offered to secure an audience with the Pope for Herzl. Commenting on this unexpected stroke of good fortune, Herzl wrote in his Journal: "I did not reply, 'that is just what I wanted to ask you for!' but said, 'Oh, we can talk about that later.'"

His meeting with the King was arranged through Dr. S. E. Margulies, Chief Rabbi of Florence, who was received by the King on October 11, 1903 and was informed that the King would be prepared to meet Herzl.

Anti-Zionist Senator

Herzl also solicited the aid of Ravenna to arrange a meeting with the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Giacomo Malvano, also a Jew. Writing on October 17, 1903, Herzl warned Ravenna that "Malvano should know nothing of my audience or even of my arrival, before I have seen the King. I know the Malvanos of other countries. They are all more patriotic than the kings. I do not know your Malvano. Let us hope that he will be with us if the King is not against." Unfortunately, however, Giacomo Malvano was of the same ilk "as the Malvanos of other countries." Notwithstanding Herzl's cordial reception by the King, "the Jewish Senator Malvano told my good Ravenna that he would talk to me only about art and science as he was an anti-Zionist."

Evidence of the painstaking care with which Herzl prepared for these interviews is contained in the same letter in which he requested Ravenna to inform himself confidentially but solidly on Italy's position in Libya. During his audience with the King, Herzl broached his idea "that the overflow of Jewish migration be diverted to Tripolitania under the liberal laws and institutions of Italy." This was seven years before Italy occupied Tripolitania!

A vivid account of his reception by Cardinal Merry



Herzl's autograph in Italian.

del Val, Secretary of State, King Victor Emmanuel III, Pope Pius X, and Tommaso Tittoni, the Italian Foreign Minister, is given in Herzl's Journal. Herzl's plans evoked the warm sympathy of the King, but met with cold reserve, even opposition, on the part of the Pope.

Summing up his Italian journey, Herzl wrote: "My Roman balance-sheet—good! It was his last political venture abroad."

By March Gitlin

DESPERATELY in need of funds for the implementation of his ideas, Herzl naturally turned to South Africa. Here was a land of untold riches, and here were Jews whose fortunes had already fallen into the realm of fantasy. As early as 1894 there are references in his Diaries to the assistance he hoped to receive from the South African magnates, and particularly to the support he was eager to obtain from Cecil Rhodes. As far as the South African Jewish community was concerned, however, he obviously expected nothing, for he did not even contact them. Yet it was precisely from the Jewish community that his support eventually came, whilst all his efforts to interest Rhodes and the financial tycoons ended in failure.

His reasons for ignoring the South African Jews are in part understandable. They constituted in all a community of about 30,000 living in a country which at that time to a European seemed like the end of the earth.

Yet in overlooking them Herzl once again revealed his lack of understanding of the spiritual forces which operated in Jewish life. The majority of the Jews in South Africa

was imbued with a deep Jewish consciousness. By the time Herzl appeared on the scene they had already formed a Hovevei Zion Society in Johannesburg. Immediately they wrote to him: "We ask you to favour us with your views as to the best steps to be taken now. There are many zealous workers here and we hope to find many supporters."

Contact was established between the Hovevei Zion and the Actions Committee in Vienna, but it soon became apparent that the days of the Hovevei Zion were numbered. It quietly went out of existence, and Hovevei Zion came to take its place.

English Jew's Initiative. It was an English Jew who took the first steps to establish the modern Zionist movement in that country. He was Leona Lowy, member of a distinguished Anglo-Jewish family, who was then living in Johannesburg. Lowy had only to hear of the new leader in Jewry and to read the reports of the first Zionist Congress, and he had already written enthusiastically to Herzl, placing himself at his disposal. Shortly afterwards the reply came back.

From its tone it was clear that the writer placed little faith in what it might achieve. Yet that letter, printed in minute type in an inconspicuous column in the popular "Standard and Digby News" in Johannesburg on April 4th, 1904, caused a sensation among the Jews of that city. Appended to the letter was an announcement that "a public meeting will be held at an early date to decide what steps shall be adopted," and when the meeting was eventually held on April 16th, a gathering which ran into hundreds was present. The outcome was the formation of the Transvaal Zionist Association, followed next afterwards by Zionist societies elsewhere. Zionism in South Africa had come to stay.

From that time on Herzl remained in contact with the South African Zionists. He was in close personal touch with some of their leaders, several of whom, like Samuel Goldreich who frequently visited Europe, he knew personally. It was in Goldreich he wrote in 1904, shortly after Herzl's visit to South Africa as British High Commissioner: "If you could interest Milner in our cause it would be very valuable... Goldreich, who knew Milner well, acted on the suggestion. No one will ever know to what extent, if any, these efforts had a part in Milner's positive views on Zionism and the significant role he played in the events leading up to the Balfour Declaration.

From Dr. Herzl's Diary

March 4, 1899

So far the bank has been the most difficult part of it all. If we succeed, no one will later have an inkling of what we have gone through, how much energy was required. In fact, we are being boycotted by the big banks. If ever I manage to lay hands on them, I shall know how to deal with them.

March 20, 1899

The Bank! "Everything depends on gold; and everyone pursues it." In fact, the whole future of the movement now depends on the success of the subscription, which I have done everything to force through.

March 23, 1899 (evening)

I am now in just that mood in which Faust made his covenant with the devil. I would immediately give ten years of my life to whomever promised me the success of the subscription.

"The Bank" referred to by Dr. Herzl is the Jewish Colonial Trust, from which Bank Leumi le-Israel has grown.

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HERZL'S BELIEF IN ANGLO-JEWRY

By Herman Bernstein

In a message which he sent to the Conference in 1904, when the English Zionist Federation was founded, Herzl wrote: "From the first moment I entered the movement, my ideas were directed towards England, because I saw that, by reason of the general situation of things there, it was the Archimedean point where the lever could be applied. The still existing happy position of English Jews, their high standard of culture, their proud adherence to the old race, makes them appear to me as the right men to fulfill the Zionist idea." And in 1900 at the Fourth Zionist Congress held in London, he said prophetically: "England, the great England, the free England, whose gaze sweeps over all the seas, will understand us and our aims. From here the Zionist idea will take a further and higher flight." The affection of Herzl for England, like Weissmann's, is the more remarkable because he was a stranger to the country. It was to a small gathering of Jews in England that he first expounded his plan of the "Jewish State." In November 1896 he came to London, at the suggestion of Max Nordau, to address the members of a club of Jewish intellectuals, writers, artists, lawyers and doctors, which was known as the Maccabaean. Israel Sangwill was a member and friend of Nordau; and he invited Herzl to address them. The talk, for all its seeming phantasy, made a deep impression, and he won straightaway three apostles. Israel Sangwill, Dr. Moses Gaster, the Rabbah of the Sephardi congregation, and my father, Herbert Bernstein. Another member, Asher Weiss, was the editor of the "Jewish Chronicle," then and now the principal organ of Anglo-Jewry, and he published a summary of Herzl's plan, the first account of it to appear. Herzl had another interview which had important consequences. He went to Cardiff to talk with Colonel Goldsmid, the "chief" of the Levers of Zion movement (Hoveve Zion), which had attained a strong hold in the community. Goldsmid, of a baptized Jewish family, had conceived an ardent love of his people and a faith in their return to Zion. Herzl felt that he was the living embodiment of Daniel Deronda and would help him lead the Jews to their land.

Children of the Ghetto

In the following year he came again to London to address the Maccabaean a second time. By then he had decided that the "Jewish Company," which should be the financial instrument of the Jewish State, should have its principal centre in London. He saw Sir Samuel Montagu (later Lord Swaythling), a shrewd banker, and was to make him to take the lead in the company. Throughout the nine years of inspired activity, he clung to the idea that English Jews were the practical men of action, and they would enable him to attain the goal. Montagu the banker was wary, but Montagu the Liberal member of parliament sent to Gladstone, the Liberal ex-Premier, a copy of the translation of the "Jewish State," and received from him a sympathetic message. That was the first step in Herzl's approach to English statesmen. On this occasion he turned also to the Jewish masses, addressing a meeting at the Jewish Working Men's club in Whitechapel, and aroused immense enthusiasm. For the children of the London ghetto he was, with his magnificent presence and his graphic message, a Messiah. They became, as the apt Herzl himself, demanding something more than the support of such apostolic emissaries in Palestine. The

leaders of the community, even the leaders of the Levers of Zion, were more rational. They had doubts of the political programme, and the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Hermann Adler, spoke openly against dangerous dreams.

English Zionists at Basle

At the First Zionist Congress in Basle there was a small English delegation, Sangwill and Gaster among them. The English Zionist Federation, founded later, adopted the Basle programme; and at the Second Congress in 1906 the English group was stronger. It included Leopold Greenberg, later to be editor of the "Jewish Chronicle," and Herzl's agent with the British Government, and my father, who had led a "Maccabaean pilgrimage" of a score of English Jews to Palestine to see the Jewish settlements. From the aristocratic Anglo-Jewish families Herzl made one remarkable convert, Sir Francis Monckton, nephew of Sir Moses Montefiore.

Herzl set about the establishment in England of the

financial and practical instruments for the Zionist purpose. The Jewish Colonial Trust after many difficulties was registered as an English company in 1899, and a little later the Anglo-Palestine Bank and the Jewish National Fund were formed for work in the land. At the same time Herzl continued to seek contact with English statesmen. Through a strange friend, the poet Laureate Alfred Austin, he sought, but in vain, an introduction to Lord Salisbury — who was then Prime Minister. With a view to inform and rouse English public opinion the Fourth Zionist Congress was held in London. "We have demonstrated before the English world and not a few have been taken of the demonstration." After his visit to the Sultan in 1901, he made another determined effort to raise a large fund in England with which to negotiate the grant of a charter. He hoped wisely that the Maccabaean would help, and wisely again that he might capture the mind of

Cecil Rhodes, and make him the financial saviour.

In the following year, however, he had his chance at last of laying his plans before the acknowledged head of the Anglo-Jewish community, the first Lord Rothschild. Herzl came to London to give evidence before a Royal Commission on Alien Immigration. Lord Rothschild was a member of the Commission, and was concerned to know what Herzl proposed to say. He was apprehensive of the scheme for a Jewish State in Palestine, but he was impressed by Herzl's proposal for a Jewish colony in the Egyptian territory of Sinai, on the borders of Palestine. That colony would be under English protection, and might provide a home for numbers of Jews fleeing from Russian persecution. Herzl won for that idea also the dynamic Colonial Secretary of the English Government, Joseph Chamberlain. A survey commission went to prospect the land and the possibilities of irrigation and settlement. Colonel Goldsmid and Leopold

Kessler were members of it, and Leopold Greenberg conducted the negotiations with Lord Cromer, the British Agent, and virtual ruler of Egypt. When that scheme came to naught because the Egyptian government would not allow the use of the Nile waters for irrigation, Chamberlain made the offer of another territory more directly under British jurisdiction, in the East-African protectorate the so-called Uganda Scheme. A future English statesman had a share in the negotiation; David Lloyd George, to whom Herzl and Greenberg turned for drafting a plan of local autonomy for a Jewish settlement. At the Ninth Congress in 1908 Herzl expressed the gratitude of the movement to Great Britain for the recognition of the Zionist Organization as a body capable of establishing a self-governing settlement. He had won the faithful support of individual leaders of Anglo-Jewry, and the enthusiastic trust of the masses. And he had made a deep impact on the minds of English statesmen of vision.



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THE JERUSALEM POST HERZL CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT

Grand Duke's Support for Grand Design

By Hermann Elert

THE Grand Duke Friedrich of Baden was an important figure in founding the German Reich in 1871 and in making his father-in-law, Wilhelm I, the Kaiser. This personality occupies a great deal of space in the Diary of Dr. Theodor Herzl. It was he who introduced Herzl to the most powerful monarch of his time. Being a native of Karlsruhe where the Grand Duke resided, my early youth was spent under this ruler.

Herzl's memoirs had long been my favourite literature and, leading through them one day at the beginning of this year, the thought struck me that the letters exchanged between Herzl and the Grand Duke — the whereabouts of which was not known — ought to be in Karlsruhe. I wrote to the heir of the Grand Duke, the Markgraf Berthold of Baden. I received a reply that 23 letters of Herzl, written in 1894-1904, had been found in the Family Archives in Karlsruhe. My wife immediately travelled to Karlsruhe and had photostatic copies made of the letters.

Drafts of 18 of them appear in Herzl's Diary, with slight deviations from the final text. Five letters were hitherto unrecorded. One of them is a note of thanks for an autographed photograph of the Grand Duke; Herzl writes that he hopes the picture will adorn his or his children's home in the Holy Land.

One interesting specimen that has now come to light shows that, in spite of the Grand Duke having granted permission to publish the fact of the interview of September 1894, Herzl did not make use of the permission. Herzl wrote to the Grand Duke that, owing to signs of opposition all over the world to the extension of German influence over Palestine, he thinks it better — in the interests of His Royal Highness — not to make public this interview. At the same time, however, he requests the support of the Grand Duke for an audience with the Kaiser.

From the material now discovered in Karlsruhe it is evident that the Grand Duke immediately wrote to the Kaiser who replied: "You were very voluminous file, the contents of which relate to the Zionist Movement. I went through it together with Count Foll. Eulenburg. Many thanks for your suggestion in this matter, which I know only super-

ficially up to now, from newspapers and brochures. The underlying idea always had an appeal for me and evoked my sympathy but through the study of your kind pamphlet I am now convinced that this is a question of the most far-reaching significance... I received an inquiry from the Zionists whether I would be ready to grant an audience to a delegation and my reply was that I would be willing to receive a deputation during my visit to Jerusalem. I am certain that the settling of the Holy Land by the wealthy and industrious Jewish people would bring to that country undreamed of fertility and blessing, which could be reflected also on Asia Minor... Everywhere the hydra of the racist and most horrible anti-Semitism rears its head and the Jews viewing it in terror are ready to leave a country where they are in danger and to seek a protector... Those returning to the Holy Land should enjoy protection and security and I shall use my influence to that end with the Sultan... Your most affectionate Nephew Wilhelm."

Csar's Reaction

In October, 1899, Herzl heard that the Russian Czar would be visiting the Grand Duke in Karlsruhe and requested an audience. The Grand Duke could not arrange the interview but he spoke to the Czar. On November 16, 1899 he wrote to Herzl that the Czar might be interested in his endeavours, and suggested that Herzl forward a memorandum to him. Herzl complied and on December 2, 1899 sent the Grand Duke a detailed exposé written in French. We found in Karlsruhe a handwritten draft of a letter from the Grand Duke to the Czar and already on December 2, 1899 he sent on to him the exposé together with a warm recommendation, that "the idea of Zionism is an undertaking that can be important, among others, in connection with the social interests and politics of European countries where the Jewish population has a certain economic weight and especially towards the poor who are exposed to the influence of socialism." The Czar wrote back in very courteous terms but the answer was negative. He wrote: "The theory of Zionism could certainly be a very important factor in connection with the development and internal pacification of Europe but I doubt that the practical application of this theory may be possible



The House Room in the Jewish National Fund Building in Jerusalem, a portion of Dr. Herzl's study in Vienna, seen to the left of the window and the wooden floor. The white wall behind the desk was a 19th-century wall from Herzl's journey to Palestine in October 1894, in which Wilhelm II. The decorations discovered were discovered on Herzl by the Sultan of Turkey, who gave him an audience in May, 1901. Another account is the passport containing the visa issued for his journey to Russia shortly after the Russian pogroms in 1901. The Jewish Community of Vienna presented him with a grant of the French in a period when Herzl was in a place of honor in the House. The House will be transferred to the Herzl Museum opening on Herzl Street in July.

even in the distant future."

The friendship and devotion of the Grand Duke to Herzl was based on his religious feelings. He was influenced by Rev. Hechler, a British clergyman, pastor of the British Embassy in Vienna, who was a staunch believer in the Prophecy and, after reading Herzl's book, wrote to the Grand Duke: "The Jewish State is a most serious question as it may be fulfilled in 1897 or 1902, for come it must, according to the Prophecy and must

certainly it will become a great blessing to the whole world." From that day on, the Grand Duke was a firm supporter of the Zionist Movement.

After the Congress in Basle, Herzl had an audience with the Grand Duke. Later Hechler wrote to the Grand Duke: "I was watching Dr. Herzl very closely, when he was with Your Excellency and was thankful to find him still humble and modest as usual. In Constantinople I told him before we leave to Your

Royal Highness, that it was his duty to put on the beautiful and valuable order he received some time ago from the Sultan, but he would not. Oh! may he not only be an instrument in God's hand, but may he become God's worthy and humble instrument to His glory and the good of mankind."

CORRECTION

On Page 27, the account of Herzl's arrival and his meeting with the Kaiser has been inaccurately reported.

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THE KEREN HAYESOD IN HERZL'S YEAR

This year is Herzl Year, marking an important date in Zionist history, in the realization of Zionism, for it is also the 40th anniversary of Keren Hayesod, founded as the central financial arm of the Zionist movement. It has served to finance the main activities of Zionist enterprise, particularly in the field of immigration and settlement. During the forty years of its existence, one-and-one-half-million Jews migrated to Israel and no less than 700 agricultural settlements were established. With the aid of volunteer work, Keren Hayesod has proved a vital factor in the realization of Herzl's great vision. It was the enterprise of Keren Hayesod that helped lay the foundation stone for the State of Israel, now in its twelfth year of independence and its struggle for existence.



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Herzl and the Jewish National Fund

Herzl was the creative force behind the establishment of the JNF, and, in addition, he directed the practical work of the Fund during the first few years of its existence. He took an active part not only in the organization and in propaganda on its behalf, but also in the first land acquisition in Palestine.

"The nation will not only contribute to the National Fund, but will forever own this dedicated capital," he declared. "We wish to root the settlers to the soil... They will live on the land and from the land."

When the first Volume of the Golden Book was opened, Herzl contributed the first inscription. Later, however, he gave up the first place on the first page of the first volume, which was his due, in favour of Hermann Schapira, who had conceived the idea of the Ker-a Kayemet. Herzl took every opportunity to further fund collections for inscriptions in the Golden Book and used it to commemorate various personalities and happenings. When his father died, for instance, he inscribed him in the Golden Book (August 22, 1902). When Herzl returned from his journey to Russia—the famous journey undertaken to negotiate with the Russian authorities concerning an agreement for a charter in Palestine—he donated two Golden Book inscriptions in the names of the veteran Vilna Zionists, I. Ben-Yakov and J.L. Goldberg, in recognition of their hospitality during his stay in their city. The importance Herzl attached to the Golden Book was so great that he, in his capacity as President of the Zionist Organization, signed all the Golden Book Certificates in his own hand.

On his writing desk stood a Blue Box—and once, when asked for autographs, he took off his top hat and collected for the Jewish National Fund from each autograph hunter.

Herzl died in July 1904, and thus could only guide the work of the Keren Kayemet for two-and-a-half years. During this short period, however, he succeeded in making a start on actual land redemption. Herzl became acquainted with the proposal to buy Ben Shimon and Hulda lands after Eliahu Sapir, who specialized in land laws, and Yehoshua Hankin, who was one of the first land acquisition experts in Palestine, had made a survey trip through the country and had chosen the

two tracts. On February 22, 1904, Herzl wrote to Mr. Levontin of the Anglo-Palestine Company: "...We are of the opinion that these lands ought to be bought by the Keren Kayemet Leta'el, if they are considered suitable to its purpose." Herzl asked for more detailed information about the land offered for sale, adding: "What we have in mind is a continuous tract of at least 10,000 dunams, on which a model colony could be established according to Oppenheimer's plan." At the same time, negotiations were started for the purchase of the Kfar Hittim lands, situated on a broad plateau overlooking Tiberias and the Sea of Galilee.

Another historical fact deserves special mention: that it was Herzl himself who started negotiations for the purchase of the Valley of Jezreel. At that time, a mysterious person appeared in Vienna, who turned out to be Sursuk, the largest landowner in Palestine under the Turkish regime. He came with the intention of offering for sale the Jezreel lands. Herzl's letter to S. Reinach, one of the directors of I.C.A., is of particular interest because it reflects Herzl's views on land acquisition in Palestine: "We have been offered land in the Valley of Jezreel by a certain Mr. Sursuk of Beirut. As I understand the situation, this Mr. Sursuk thinks that either I.C.A. or the Zionists will buy his land, and some notorious land speculators wish to profit from what they believe to be competition between us. Such tricks are easily prevented if we exchange information... Mr. Sursuk asks for 25 francs a dunam, but, according to the information at my disposal, the land is not worth more than 15-18 francs a dunam. If you wish to buy this land, we shall withdraw from the negotiations; if you do not wish to buy, please inform Mr. Sursuk, so that we can buy at a cheaper price." (Herzl's diary June 4, 1903).

Herzl gave the A.P.C. financial instructions concerning the purchase of the Kfar Hittim lands. He also instructed the A.P.C. upon termination of the negotiations for the Hulda and Ben Shimon lands, to pay immediately the necessary sums out of Keren Kayemet funds. All this shows clearly that Herzl in fact directed the work of the Keren Kayemet in all its aspects. He died while negotiations for the purchase of Hulda and Ben Shimon were still in progress.

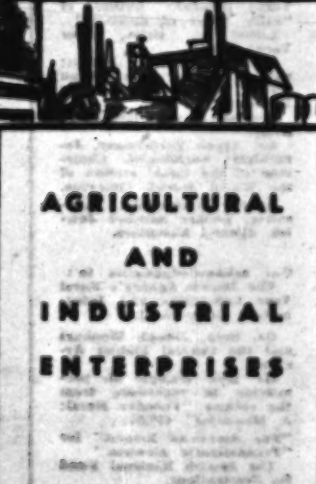
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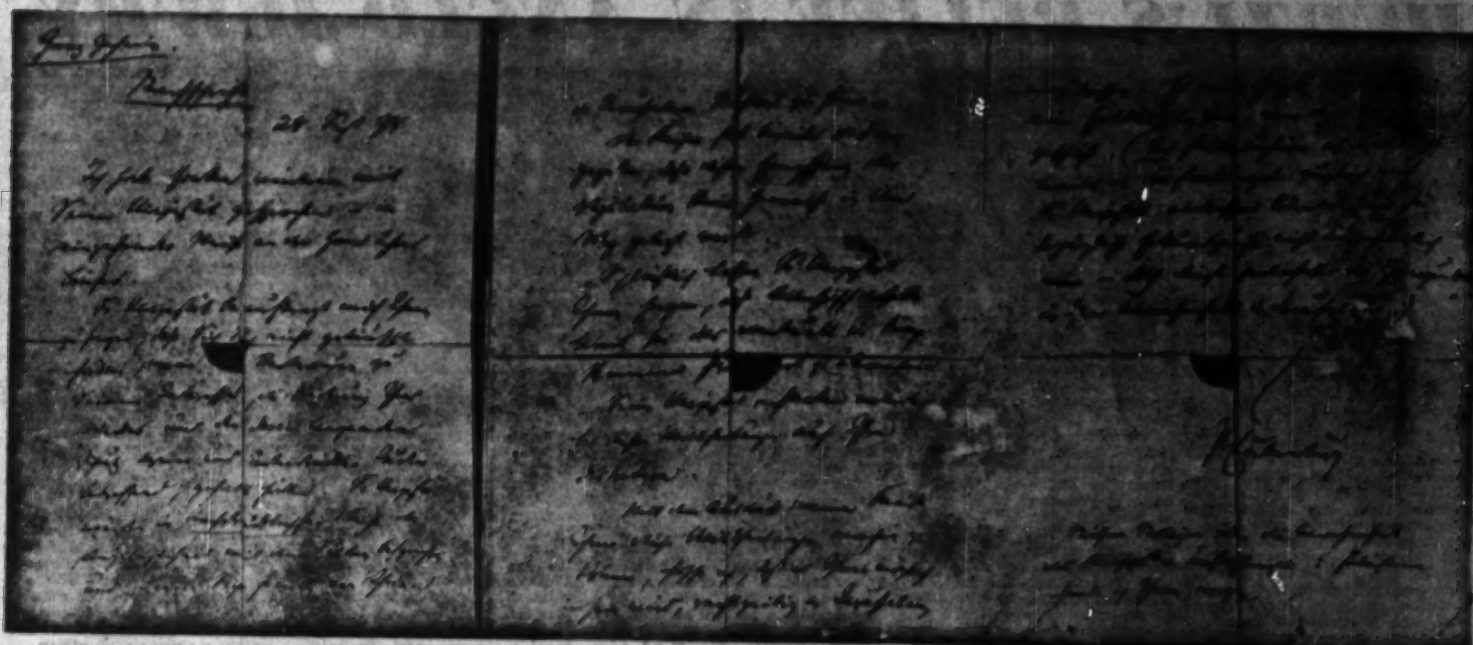



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Postscript to the first Eulenburg letter.

HERZL, THE EMPEROR AND THE SULTAN

Documents Found in Secret Safe

By Dr. Alex Bein

We are not yet in possession of all the facts regarding Herzl's dealings with the German Emperor and the events connected with his audiences with the Kaiser in Constantinople and in Jerusalem, even though they have been fully described in Herzl's diaries (see pp. XIV-XV). Owing to the influence of the German Foreign Minister, Count von Bülow, all that the German Government disclosed to the world concerning the Jerusalem audience of November 2, 1908 was a short announcement that the Kaiser had received "a delegation of Jews who presented him with an album of views of the Israeli colonies that have been set up in Palestine. To the speech of the delegation's leader, His Majesty replied that any aspirations aiming at raising the standard of Palestine agriculture for the benefit of the Turkish state can count on his sympathetic interest."

This official announcement, which deprived the audience of any political meaning and did not even mention either Herzl or the Zionist movement by name, is difficult to reconcile with Herzl's own statements in "Die Welt" and in his address opening the Third Zionist Congress, and particularly with the detailed descriptions in his diaries. True to his undertaking to divulge nothing of what the Kaiser and his entourage had promised, either before the trip or at the Constantinople audience, Herzl said nothing concrete about them; but he did state that a Zionist delegation headed by him had been invited by the Kaiser and received by him in Jerusalem, and that the Foreign Minister, von Bülow, was present at the audience; this in itself imparted a political character to it.

Diary Revelation

A good deal more became known about this episode when Herzl's diaries were published. This was not, however, enough to shed full historical light on the episode.

In his diary entry of November 2, 1908, Herzl told about a letter received from Count Philipp Eulenburg, a confidant of the Kaiser's and his Ambassador to Vienna. According to Herzl's visibly excited account, the letter informed him of the Kaiser's willingness to receive him in Jerusalem and what was more to take under his wing the Jews' return to their homeland. When Herzl showed Eulenburg's letter to David Wolffsohn and Jacobus Kann who were on their way to London with him in order to found the Jewish Colonial Trust, all three were con-

vinced that the organized return of the Jews to Zion and the founding of a national state there were imminent.

Eulenburg's letter was nowhere to be found, not in Herzl's private collection nor in the files of the Zionist Organization, nor even in any private collection.

Eight years ago, in the 1922 edition of "Shivat Zion," I published a letter from the Rev. William Hechler, who informed Herzl of the receipt of a telegram from the Grand Duke; and indeed, the telegram itself has also been found since, in the archive of Herbert Bentwich. The Grand Duke of Baden gave Hechler the information to pass on to Herzl that he had received a very satisfactory reply and regards the conclusion as certain. "The protectorate will be established; the intervention with the ruler of the desired land will be made; the delegation will be received at its destination."

I commented as follows: "It seems reasonable to suppose that Herzl considered the Eulenburg letter a document of such importance that he did not keep it in his house but in some safe place, perhaps a bank safe-box."

Documents Discovered

Two years later I had the good luck of identifying these very documents among a pile of papers that had passed through the blitz in a safe deposit box at the Anglo-Palestine Bank. Due to the heat they had undergone during the fire, the documents were in a state of near-disintegration, and it was only with the utmost care that it proved possible to photograph them and to transfer them from London to the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem.

All the documents in this safe had been held in error to belong to the archive of Joseph Cowen, one of Herzl's closest friends and associates. It seems that after Herzl's death Cowen took them to his home, and that after Cowen's death they were returned to the bank together with Herzl's letters to Cowen. This is what led to the supposition that the safe was Cowen's, but among the contents some notes in Herzl's own handwriting establish beyond any doubt that this was the secret hiding-place of his valuable documents.

These, then, were the letters we had been searching for for decades. Three of them are reproduced herewith — two from Eulenburg, dated September 27 and 28, 1908, and one from the Grand Duke of Baden, dated October 6, 1908. Their content calls for little explanation. They bear out fully Herzl's statements in his diaries and elsewhere.

It is now known that the Kaiser kept his promise to

Herzl, but only partly. He did try to intercede with the Sultan, but when he sensed the Muslim sovereign's opposition, the German Foreign Minister succeeded in cooling his ardour. Taking advantage, incidentally, of the poor impression which the Jews of Jerusalem had made on the Kaiser, von Bülow succeeded in convincing him that it was not worth his while taking the risk of supporting the Zionists who had no backing and no real following.

Despite his disappointment, Herzl summed up the episode as a positive one. His words appear to us even wiser today, particularly in view of the developments of the past 30 years in the history of the world and the Jewish people. "The fact that the Kaiser did not take it upon himself to become our patron and protector," wrote Herzl in his diary immediately after failure had become apparent, "is of course excellent for the future development of our cause... for such protection would have been a clear advantage in the short run... but not in the long run, when an exceedingly high price would ultimately have been exacted from us for this patronage."

Text of Eulenburg's First Letter

September 27, 1908.

Dear Doctor,
I acknowledge, with thanks, your letter from Paris of 26th instant, which I found of the greatest interest. I would have replied earlier, but for my having been weighed down by work.

I have only good news for you — even if perhaps not such as you may have expected at the present time.

His Majesty the Kaiser has, as I expected, shown complete and deep understanding of the movement headed by you. I was a zealous exponent of your cause, convinced as I am of its righteousness. My friend Bülow is similarly convinced — which may be of very great significance for your cause.

Following my very exhaustive exposition, His Majesty has declared his readiness to intervene with great vigour and, as far as practicable, urgently present your cause to the Sultan. In this, the Kaiser will be supported by his accompanying State Secretary, von Bülow. As I was able to inform His Majesty of the Sultan's preparedness, following the suggestion of Herr v. Marschall, the Kaiser for his part saw no obstacle in the way of further steps.

I do not doubt that with his lively mind, he will prove an able exponent.

The note in your letter of the 24th may prove a valuable side-memoir. His Majesty was not much inclined to grant you an audience at the

present juncture (as it would be impossible to hold one in secret), and the Kaiser fears that this might give added impetus to the excessively adverse comment which has already accompanied his journey to Palestine.

His Majesty will, however, be pleased to receive a deputation of Palestine Zionists. I have already passed on this information in confidence to my cousin, Oberhofmarschall Count A. Eulenburg.

If you were to lead such a deputation, you would have an excellent chance of presenting your case to His Majesty in person.

I enclose a sheet giving the schedule of the Palestine visit.

May I further, dear Doctor, request you urgently to keep the contents and knowledge of this letter an absolute secret.

Assuring you of my constant sincere desire to be of service to your cause, I remain, respectfully,
Yours very sincerely,
Count Philipp Eulenburg

Highly Confidential

Postscript

September 28, 1908.

I have just had another thorough talk with His Majesty regarding your letter.

His Majesty has instructed me to inform you that your confidence in His Majesty's interest in the furtherance of your cause and the protection of poor, oppressed Jews is not misplaced. His Majesty would discuss the matter with the Sultan in the most forcible terms, and will be pleased to hear more from you in Jerusalem.

The Kaiser has already issued orders to the effect that no obstacle is to be placed in the way of the delegation.

His Majesty further wishes to inform you that he personally is prepared to assume charge of any protests that might be considered.

His Majesty naturally counts on your discretion in conveying you this information.

I am happy to be able to convey this information to you, and hope that you will be able to reach Jerusalem in good time. His Majesty would be disappointed if this were not to be. (I leave it to you whether you are fit to arrive in Constantinople at the same time as His Majesty, which may be of not inconsiderable significance in case of any relevant inquiries that might be made — the centre of gravity of your mission, however, will be Jerusalem.)

Tomorrow I shall forward you further particulars regarding His Majesty's return to Constantinople and Palestine.

The Second Letter
September 28, 1908.
I shall be here until Octo-

ber 8, then in Linzberg Mark (via Berlin N) until October 18, and after that date in Vienna.

The retinue arrives in Constantinople on October 21.

Stay until October 22.

Arrival in Haifa on October 24.

Arrival in Jerusalem on October 26.

Stay until November 5.

In case you should wish to meet me, I shall be in Berlin or Linzberg (Leewenburger Station on the Berlin-Stralsund line, 1 hour's ride from Berlin) between October 6 and 18, when I shall be very pleased to greet you.
Respectfully,
Count P. Eulenburg

Grand Duke's Letter

October 6, 1908

My Dear Dr. Herzl,

Through the kind courtesy of the German Ambassador, Count Philipp Eulenburg, I have learnt of the letter he has written you regarding the Zionist matter. I therefore write you today in the happy knowledge that you have been informed of the favourable stand regarding this matter, in connection with which I wish to elaborate a few points.

In a letter addressed to me by His Majesty the Kaiser I have noted with satisfaction the warm stand His Highness has taken in the matter, and his lively interest in it.

He is prepared to act as broker in talks with the Sultan and to stress the question of a possible protectorate on his part. He is very much inclined to receive a Zionist deputation in Jerusalem and thereby openly demonstrate his sympathy.

Count Eulenburg, moreover, writes that he thinks it would be a very good idea if you were to leave for Constantinople in order to be on hand during the Kaiser's visit there. This may prove particularly advantageous in negotiations with the Sultan.

Count Eulenburg further recommends that you place yourself at the head of the delegation to whom the Kaiser will grant an audience in Jerusalem. The Count has told me that the Kaiser will be disappointed if you do not appear at such an audience.

From this you may gather how great is the confidence with which your activities are judged, and the esteem in which your person is held.

It seemed to me to express my pleasure at the great reception accorded you well at the fact that your mission work has met with such great success. It is my sincere wish that this good fortune may continue.

Yours sincerely,
Friedrich
Grand Duke of Baden